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A CRITICAL  
HISTORY

OF THE  
ESTABLISHMENT

OF THE  
*Bretons among the Gauls.*

VOL. II.

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OF THE  
GARDENS

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OF THE  
*Bretons among the Gauls,*

AND OF  
Their Dependence upon the KINGS of  
*France, and DUKES of Normandy.*

*By Monsieur the Abbot of VERTOT,*  
*of the Academy Royal of Inscriptions,*  
*and Belles Lettres.*

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By Mr. *H E N L E Y*.

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V O L. II.

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L O N D O N:  
Printed for W. TAYLOR, J. PEMBERTON,  
E. SYMON, W. CHETWOOD, J. LACY, and  
J. CLARKE. MDCCXXII.

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ESTABLISHMENT

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TAXES AMONG THE GERMANS  
AND OF

THEIR DEPENDENCE UPON THE KINGS OF  
FRANCE, AND DUKES OF NORMANDY.  
By MONTAGU the Abbot of Warrington  
of the Academy Royal of Inscriptions  
and Belles Lettres.



By Mr. A. W. L. E. X.

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# A CRITICAL HISTORY

OF THE

*Establishment of the BRETONS  
among the GAULS; and of their  
Dependence upon the Kings of  
France, and the Dukes of Nor-  
mandy.*

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## B O O K III.

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**T**HE History of *Charles the Simple*, Grandson of *Charles the Bald*, gives us a Clear and Decisive Proof of the Sovereignty of our Kings over *Bretagne*. This Prince, by the Treaty of *St. Clare*, yielded up to *Rollo*, the first  
VOL. II. B Duke

Duke of *Normandy*, the direct and immediate Lordship of that Province. This Fact is attested by a Train of Historians, both *English, French and German*. The Writers of *Bretagne* themselves agree in it. None but Father *Lobineau* has been so daring, for these eight Centuries, as to dispute this Right; and He attacks it by two several Approaches; I mean, He equally contests the Right and the Fact of it. I believe, that I have solidly establish'd the Fact in the *Treatise of the Dependence of the Fiefs*; which I publish'd in the Year 1710, and by all the Proofs I have reported in the First Volume. F. *Lobineau*, to elude the Proof that results from so many Incontestable Facts, endeavours to escape it, by the favour of one Question of Right. It is very proper to pursue him in his Paces; but we ought to view his own Expressions; and therefore we will consider here how he has explain'd his Sentiments.

*Answer*  
p. 12, &c.

The true Question of Right, saith F. *Lobineau* in his Answer, is to know, whether *Charles the Simple* had a Power, without the Consent of the *Bretons*, to make that, which was an immediate Fief of the Crown, a *Mesne-Tenure*; and to subject that, which held immediately of the Kings of *France*, to the Dukes  
of

of *Normandy*. Now, apart from any pretension to speak like a Lawyer (adds he) or without flattering ones self, that we could go to the bottom of the Question, if the Author of the *Treatise of the Fief* had proposed it, we might have borrow'd the Voice of *Charles du Moulin*, whose Name alone is a sufficient Authority, to reply in the Negative, that no Fiefs, whether Primary or Subordinate, could be cut off from their ancient and proper Lord, to be subjected to a Lord of an Inferior Rank ; that the Sovereign Prince himself could not do it without the Concurrence of his Vassals ; and that, according to some Authors, the Vassals of the King might oppose a Transfer of their Obedience to another, on this Reason, that they will not be Vassals, but to the King, &c. The Author of the *Treatise* aforesaid (pursues F. *Lobineau*) thought it proper to avoid these Difficulties. I agree to this, and I never thought it was permitted to particular Men, in a private Capacity, to canvass in a public Manner, without Superior Commands, these tender Questions, relating to the Extent of the Power of our Kings, and the Bounds which their Subjects may put to it. But since F. *Lobineau* has oblig'd me to answer him, I shall



endeavour to defend these Rights that are so sacred; in a Subject, where the Interests of our Princes, and those of Truth it self, are inseparable.

It is a clear and a general Maxim, that when distinct free Provinces unite themselves into one Estate, which others after may voluntarily join, to live under the same Laws and Form of Government; it is agreed, I say, that they all contract a kind of perpetual Society; and that the Prince has no Right to dismember one part from the Body of the Estate, to put it under a foreign Dominion, or to the immediate Seignury of an inferior Lord: that this would be to degrade the Condition of the Vassal, and derogate from the Original Treaty of the Foundation of this Estate: But this general Rule admits a variety of Exceptions.

\* *Grotius*, whom we may call the Counsellor of Princes, has reported a great Number of them; and these among

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\* *Grot. de Jur. bel. l. 3. c. 2. n. 5. p. 734.* Plane aliud erit, siquis Rex, &c. i. e. It will be quite otherwise, if any King be at once Lord of his Subjects, and receives the Command, not so properly of a State, as of a Family; as they that in Conquest reduce a Prisoner of War; or, tho' a Prince may not have a Right of Dominion over the Person, if he has it over his Property, as Pharaoh in the Land of Egypt by Purchase; and others, that have receiv'd Foreigners into a share of their private Rights, &c.

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the rest, that the Sovereigns of a State may alienate the Supreme Lordship of one Province, if the Prince is at the same Time the immediate Lord, and the King of his Subjects; and that he may exercise his Command over their Persons, as well as their Fortunes; and this is the Right, saith he, that we may exercise over Prisoners of War; either, if the Authority does not extend beyond their Fortunes, like that of *Pharaoh*, King of *Egypt*; who purchas'd all the Lands of his Kingdom; or lastly, saith he, if the Prince hath given an Establishment to Foreigners upon his Lands; and here lies the particular Topic that regards the Paramount Lordship of *Bretagne*.

The *Bretons* were Strangers, and Refugees from their Country; they came to make a Settlement upon Lands, that were desert and uncultivated, which our Kings assign'd them; this Royal Concession made to Christians, that were in a distress'd and Fugitive Lot, does not hinder the Prince at other times, for the Safety of his State, to transfer the direct Dominion of these Lands, the rather, that they may always remain under the Sovereignty of the Crown.

Did the *Romans* consult the People of *Languedoc* and *Catalonia*, when they gave

them the chief Sovereignty of these Provinces, to drive the *Visigoths* from *Rome*? Did *Charles the Simple* ask the Advice of the *Normans*, when he gave up *Roan*, and all the Province, to them, in pure Propriety? And did King *Lotharius*, Grandson of the same *Charles the Simple*, require the Consent of the *Lorrainers*, when he conceded *Lorraine* to the Emperor *Otho II.* to hold it in Fee of the Crown of *France*? And when, in the greatest part of Treaties of Peace, Provinces are mutually resign'd by them to one another, or Towns, or Lordships, are they advis'd at this Day to require the intervening Consent of the People, in this sort of Cession or Exchange? States and Kingdoms are govern'd by Principles superior to the general Maxims of Lawyers, in which Princes are accountable to God only.

In vain has F. *Lobineau*, (to give more weight to what he advances against the Power of our Kings) joyn'd to the Venerable Authority of *Du Moulin*, the Opinion of *Simon Marion* the Advocate. To give, saith he, a more determinate Answer on the particular Subject between the Author of the *Treatise of the Fief*, and F. *Lobineau*, we ought to consult the Language of another Famous Lawyer,



Lawyer, Counsellor of State, and Advocate General, *Simon Marion*, Baron of *Drecy*, who says precisely in his *Pleader*, 9. p. 241. that the Naked and Immediate Dependence of the Dutchy of *Bretagne* upon the Crown of *France*, could not be transferr'd to the Dukes of *Normandy*, as sometimes has been unlawfully attempted.

We answer, first, that when *Marion* drew up his *Pleader*, he was neither Advocate General, nor Counsellor of State; it was not in the Quality of an Officer of the King, that he advanc'd these Sentiments so opposite to the Rights of the Crown. This Noble Lord was only an Advocate in Law; so that as such, his Opinion can be no Rule to the Right of a Sovereign. He was not then so famous at the Bar, as to merit the Title, so liberally conferr'd upon him by *Lobineau*, of a celebrated Lawyer. Has he written upon the Civil Law, like *Cujacius*? or treated of the Domain of the Crown, like *Chopin*? or the eigneuries, the Orders, the Dignities of it, like *Loyseau*? or lastly upon the Fiefs, like *Chantereau le Fevre*, and other Lawyers of that Eminence? We have only five *Pleaders* of this *Marion*, four of which only relate to private Cases; and the fifth, in which

he speaks for the Procurator General, has no respect to *Bretagne*; F. *Lobineau* might as justly have quoted a like Piece, which is rather a keen Satyr upon the Jesuits, than the Discourse of a Magistrate disengag'd from all Passion.

But if *Marion*, and all the Advocates of his Time should have agreed, in full Bar, that our Kings could not transfer the Fief of *Bretagne* to the Dukes of *Normandy*, the Sovereign and absolute Power of these Princes would have been much lessen'd; and it would be false at present, what is asserted by \* *Thomas Walsingham*, that the Dukes or Counts of *Bretagne* are bound and subject in Vassalage to the Dukes of *Normandy*, by an Ancient Grant of the Kings of *France*.

This Grant was founded upon this Maxim, superior to all the Decisions of the Lawyers, that the Safety of the People is the supreme Law. Three *Norman* Armies, entred by the *Seine*, the *Loire*, and the *Garonne*, ravag'd the Kingdom, and appear'd with a resolution

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\* Hoc vinculo debita, &c. i. e. The Counts or Dukes of *Bretagne* are bound by this Tie of due Subjection to the Dukes of *Normandy*, by the Grant of the Kings of *France*, from very Ancient Times. Th. Wals. Ipodigma Neustr.

to make a Conquest of it. These Barbarians put all to Fire and Sword; there were no Forces on foot to oppose them; a weak Prince, a feeble Government, the Nobles powerful, but divided, the People in Despair, and ever expos'd to the Fury of these Savages, or the Misfortunes of a Civil War.

In so general a Desolation, they must have Recourse to a Treaty, the sole Refuge of the yielding Party; They were oblig'd to abandon one Part of *Neustria* to the *Normans*, with the Lordship of *Bretagne*, to save the rest of the Realm: In vain did the Subjects of the King oppose this Alienation; for when Force prevails, the Laws are silent. Do not we know, \* says *Grotius*, that in humane Constitutions, the last Necessity, which reduces all Things to the meer Law of Nature, is always excepted? It is Nature, says St. *Augustin*, which makes this Principle understood by all Nations, rather to submit to the Conquerors, than be expos'd to Death †. Therefore our Kings

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\* Sic vicissim parti jus non est, &c. i. e. So again, a Part has no Right to separate from the Body; unless it may plainly preserve it self otherwise: for as abovesaid, in all Humane Institutions, the last Necessity seems excepted, &c. Grot. l. 2. c. 6. n. 5.

† In omnibus terè Gentibus, &c. i. e. It is the Voice of Nature in almost all Nations, rather to submit to a Conqueror, than be destroy'd. Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 18.



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might lawfully, by the Rights annex'd to the Crown, and to hinder the entire Ruin of the Monarchy, yield up a Part of it: They had this Right; and they made use of it in the Treaty of *St. Clair*, concluded *Ann. 912.* between *Charles the Simple*, and *Rollo* the first Duke of *Normandy*.

Nine Dukes, descended in a Male-Line from *Rollo*, reign'd successively in this Province, and enjoy'd the Rights affix'd to it, under the Sovereignty of the Crown of *France*. This appears in the different Homages render'd by the Counts of *Bretagne* to the Dukes of *Normandy*; and by the Refusal of the greatest Part of the *French* to recognize, in the Year 942, King *Lewis*, Son of *Charles the Simple*, when *William Long-Sword*, Son and Successor of *Rollo*, receiv'd this Prince as His Sovereign, at *Roan*: He treated him with a Royal Magnificence, and the *Bretons*, faith\* *Flo-*  
*doand*, pay'd their Homage there with their Princes. They came to serve their King, but they came under the Ensigns of their Sovereign Lord.

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\* *Willelmus Regem, &c. i. e. William royally entertain'd King Lewis at Rohan, and the Bretons came with their Chieftains to the King. Flod. Chron.*

We find in History these *Bretons* attending *Lewis the Fat*, when he went to *Auvergne*, to chastise the Count of that Province, for usurping some Lands in the Bishoprick of *Clermont*. All the Nobles of the Kingdom, are reported by \* the Abbot *Suger*, to joyn the King at *Bourges*, each at the Head of the Troops under their Command. There appear'd, saith the Abbot of *St. Denis*, the warlike Count of *Anjou*, the Potent Count of *Bretagne*, the Valiant Count of *Nevers*, and all the great Vassals of the Crown. The Affair did not end in this Expedition, but the King was oblig'd to make a second Voyage five Years after.

He was again accompanied, continues He, by the Counts of *Flanders*, *Anjou*, and *Bretagne*; *Henry*, King of *England*, and Duke of *Normandy*, sent Him a Body of Troops, as a Feudatary of the Crown. These are fresh, and home Proofs, of the Subjection of the *Bretons*; *F. Lo-bineau*, without any fear of Inconsistency with Himself, turns the Duty of a Vassal Here, to an Office of Amity, and the Succour of an Ally; *Conan*, saith He,

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\* Cui Bituricis adventanti Regi, &c. Sug. de Vit. Lud. Groff. Ch. 1. t. 4. p. 314.

Count of *Bretagne*, led on his Succours to His Friends in a very generous Manner. Let the *Breton* be as generous as this Writer pleases : but as He is only a Modern Historian, He ought to agree with *Suger*, an Author of that Age, Minister of *Lewis the Fat*, who accompanied his Master in this Voyage, that the Count of *Bretagne*, tho' a Vassal to the Dukes of *Normandy* was ever subject to the King, reckon'd among his Nobles, and those that (as He phrases it) were Debtors to the Realm, *i. e.* held Lands on a Charge of Service. On the same Foot, it is said by *Suger*, that *Henry* sent thither the Tributary Army of *Normandy*, *i. e.* the Troops He was to furnish as his Contingent in the Quality of Duke of *Normandy*. Such was the Usage of that Time ; but *F. Lobineau* is very willing to be Ignorant of it. He pretends, that the Count of *Bretagne* appear'd with this Army as an Ally, for fear of being oblig'd to own Him, with Abbot *Suger*, a Subject of the Crown. But what will become of the Truth of History, if an Historian be permitted to make an Independent Prince of a Subject, against the exprefs and positive Testimony of Contemporary Historians?

'Tis



'Tis on the same Affectation, that F. *Lo-bineau* has not thought it proper to speak in His History, of the Treaty of *Gisors*; in which we see that King *Lewis the Fat* gave \* the Investiture of *Bretagne* to *Henry I.* Duke of *Normandy*, (at the beginning of the twelfth Century) third Son of *William the Conqueror*, and the last Male of the Posterity of *Rollo*.

This Duke of *Normandy* had only one Daughter, call'd *Maud*, who was first married to the Emperor *Henry I.* and after the Death of that Prince, by whom she had no Children, she again marry'd *Jeffery Plantagenet de Foulques*, Count of *Anjou*, to whom she brought her Rights over the Crown of *England*, the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and, by consequence, over the Seigneury of *Bretagne*.

From this second Match descended *Henry II.* one of the most Powerful Princes of his Time, Count of *Anjou*, in Right of his Father, King of *England*, Duke of *Normandy*, and Lord of *Bretagne*, in Right of his

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\* Ambo itaque Reges, &c. Oderic. Vit. p. 841. i. e. Both the Kings met at *Gisors*. in the last Week of March; and very amicably embrac'd each other, with an Oath of Peace. to the Joy of all; then *Lewis* granted to *Henry Bellissime*, the County of *Maine*, and all *Bretagne*; For *Forgan*, Prince of the Bretons, was now made an Homager of the King, and the King espous'd his Daughter to his Son *Conan*.

Mother,

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Mother, and after Duke of *Guyenne*, and Count of *Poitiers*, by his Marriage with *Eleonora*, Dutcheſs of *Guyenne*.

*Henry* had by this Princeſs four Male Children, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Jeffery*, and *John*; *Henry* was recogniz'd as King of *England*, and Duke of *Normandy*, during the Life of his Father; *Richard* had the Dutchy of *Aquitain*; *Jeffery* that of *Bretagne*, by his Marriage with *Conſtance*, Daughter of *Conan*, Duke or Count of *Bretagne*; and *John* was Count of *Mortain*.

I thought it neceſſary to inform the Reader in the Detail of the Houſe of *Henry II.* to let him into the Solidity of the Proofs that follow.

*Gervafe of Canterbury*, a Religious of the Order of *St. Benediſt*, and Contemporary with *Henry*, inſtructs us, that this Prince, in an Interview which He had with the King of *France*, *Lewis the VIIth*, Son of *Lewis the Fat*, preſented him with *Henry* and *Richard*, his Children, on the Day of the *Epiphany*, and took occaſion to tell him agreeably, \* that He was come with his Sons to pay him Homage, the ſame Day that three Kings of the

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\* Anno Gratiz. 1169, Conveniunt Reges, &c. Chron. Gervas. dec. Script. p. 1404.

*East* came to render it to the King of Kings. *Lewis* answer'd, since He, that accepted the Presents of the three Kings, has inspir'd you with this Design, let your Sons appear, and receive from our Favour the Investiture of the Lands, which they claim in our Kingdom. *Henry*, the Eldest, first presented himself, and did Homage for the Lordship of *Bretagne*, having already done it for the Dukedom of *Normandy*; *Richard* likewise paid it for the Dutchy of *Aquitain*; and the People of *Poictou*, and *Bretagne*, there assembled, who declar'd against the *English* in the Wars which preceded this Interview, now re-enter'd into the good Graces of *Henry II.*

It follows from this Passage of *Gervase*, and from this Homage, that it was usual for the great Vassals to pay it, not only for the Fiefs which they held immediately of the Crown, but for the *Mesne-Fiefs*, of which they were Sovereigns; and it gives a Proof, that there were *Bretons* assisting at this Homage, render'd for *Bretagne*, by the Duke of *Normandy*, and that none of them advis'd him to oppose it.

We learn the contrary of the Author of the Chronicle of Mount St. *Michael*, another Contemporary Historian, that *Jeffery*,  
Count



Count of *Bretagne*, did not pay Homage to the Duke of *Normandy*, his Brother, before He received it in his Turn from the Lords of *Bretagne*; all which clearly proves the Sovereignty of the Kings of *France* over *Bretagne*, and that of the Dukes of *Normandy* over the same Province, and that the *Bretons* deferr'd the Recognition of their New Duke, till He was invested by his direct and Immediate Lord, according to the Practice of these Times. But we shall speak more amply of this in another Part of this Work, and when we shall treat of the Conveyance of the Fief of *Bretagne* to the Dukes of *Normandy*.

Young *Henry*, King of *England*, and Duke of *Normandy*, dying before the King his Father; *Richard*, the second Son of that Prince, would demand of him to recognize him for the Successor of his Mother, and assure him, during his Life, of the Crown of *England*, and the Dutchy of *Normandy*. *Henry* refus'd it, as it is pretended, on a previous Love to *John*, Count of *Mortaine*, his youngest Child. This gave Birth to a War between the Father and Son. *Philip the August*, who succeeded *Lewis* the VIIth his Father, took the Part of *Richard*, and the principal Lords of *Bretagne* declar'd them-

themselves in His Favour. *Richard* had commonly a puissant Army on Foot; this Prince surpriz'd the King his Father, and pursu'd him with an Impious and Barbarous Fury; and before he could assemble his Troops, the King of *England* did not find Rivers enough to form Barriers for him, and stop the eager Pursuit of his Enemies. He was constrain'd to have recourse to Treaty with his Sons, and Subjects, as if he had to deal with his greatest Enemies; and what touch'd him more sensibly, was, that he must agree, that the King of *France* his Sovereign should \* regulate the Conditions of the Treaty, and that his Enemy should be his Judge. So that all pass'd in this Negotiation, according to the Wish of *Richard*. He was told, that all the Vassals † of the Crown of *England*, on either side of the Sea, paid him Homage; which justifies, says *Matthew Paris*, the Prophecy of ‡ *Merlin*, who speaking of the King of *England*, and of his Ambitious and Enterprizing Character, said, he would put a Bridle upon him, made in *Bretagne*; which

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\* Rex Anglorum se posuit ex toto, &c. *Matth Paris*, an. 1188.

† Provisum est etiam, quod Comes Richardus, &c.

‡ Dabitur maxillis ejus frenum, &c. *ibid.*

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this Historian saith was accomplish'd in this Treaty, by which *Henry* was constrain'd to suffer *Jeffery* \* *du Maine*, *Guy de Laval*, and *Ralph de Fougères*, and other *Breton* Lords, to pay Homage to *Richard*, the design'd Duke of *Normandy*.

The King of *England* surviv'd a little this Treaty, so mortifying to a Prince so fierce and absolute, as he before had been. *Jeffery*, Duke or Count of *Bretagne*, his third Son, was already dead; and from the Year 1188, *Richard* succeeded the two *Henry's*, the Father and Son, as well with relation to the Crown of *England*, as the Dutchy of *Normandy*; it was in this last Quality that he engag'd by the Treaty of *Messina* to render up *Gisors* to *France*, † *Philip the August* on his part declar'd, according to *Roger de Hoveden*, an Historian of that Age, that he consented that the Dukes of *Bretagne* should do Homage to the Dukes of *Normandy*; that they should be Vassals to it, and depend upon it as Liege Vassals depend upon their Lord, on condition that the Dukes of

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\* Dum transfugos suos, &c. ibid. concessit, &c. Rog. Hoved. p. 688.

† Et insuper

*Normandy*



*Normandy* should hold of the Crown of *France*, as well for the Dutchy of *Normandy*, as for that of *Bretagne*. This in a manner prevents my Task, and suffices to destroy the vain Reasoning of *F. Lobineau*; we find it clear, on this Head, that *Bretagne* held Immediately of the Dukes of *Normandy*, and by *Mefne-Tenure* of the Crown of *France*. And we must remark at the same time, that tho' *Charles the Simple* had surrender'd the Fief to *Rollo*, the Successors of that Duke, as well of the first House of *Normandy*, as of that of *Anjou-England*, always demanded a new Grant of it from our Kings, upon every Change of the Sovereign and Vassal.

*John*, Count of *Mortain*, youngest Son of *Henry II.* succeeded his Brother *Richard*: This Prince oblig'd himself \* by the Treaty made in the Year 1200, to pay to King *Philip the August* Twenty Thousand Marks of Silver for the Right of Redemption, and the Fiefs of *Bretagne*; a Proof that the Origine of this Seigneury was founded upon the Enfeoffment of the New Lands of *Bretagne*. It is again stipulated by the same

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\* *Præerea nos dedimus, &c* Chart. Duc. Norm. Chesh. p. 1056.

Treaty, that the Young Prince *Arthur*, Son of the Count *Jeffery*, of whom we are going to speak, and Nephew of *John*, King of *England* and Duke of *Normandy*, should hold *Bretagne* of him by the Feudal Laws, and in the same manner, that the King of *England* should acknowledge, that himself held of the Crown of *France*, for all the Fiefs situate on this side the Sea, which were at that Time under the *English* Dominion. F. *Lobineau* answers these Formal Authorities, that the Homages paid by the Counts of *Bretagne* to the Kings of *France* (as we will shortly examine) were founded upon a false Principle, that the Cession of the Fief of *Bretagne*, made in favour of *Rollo*, was a Real Thing, and a Constant Fact. The Dukes of *Normandy*, saith he in his History, look'd upon all those Rights as Good and Valid, which *Dudo*, Dean of St. *Quintin*, was pleas'd to attribute to them in his History of the *Normans*, and it is upon this single Authority that they pretend to the Homage of *Bretagne*.

I cannot excuse my self from Repeating here what I said on this Subject, in the *Treatise of the Fief*; that F. *Lobineau*, when he made Use of so frivolous an Argument, could not forget what he  
 advanc'd

advanc'd in another Part of his Work; that he could have no better Foundation of Fact from the Writings of the Dean of St. *Quintin*, than the *Theogony* of *Hesiod*, or the *Iliad* of *Homer*; who could believe, after that Assertion, that Fables reported by so Contemptible an Author, such a one at least as he is pleas'd to represent him to us, should be so magnify'd, above all in the very Age when this Writer publish'd them; and that the *Norman* Princes should make a Pure Romance the Foundation of so high Pretensions, and the Subject of so bloody Wars? The Counts of *Bretagne* at that time] were very weak, and their Ministers extremely Ignorant, to give up so easily the most Essential Rights of their Dominion, upon the Faith of a Fabulous Writer, without being instructed in the Validity of the Titles of the Dukes of *Normandy*.

Suffer me to push this Reasoning a little farther. All the World knows that *Henry II*, King of *England*, was one of the most Powerful and Ambitious Princes of *Europe*; he was ~~other~~ <sup>besides</sup> an Irreconcilable Enemy to *France*, and pursu'd a Vigorous War with her, during almost the whole time of his Reign. Is it probable that if this Prince, so know-



ing, and attentive to his Interests, had found the least Flaw in this Fief, that he would not have employ'd all his Force to draw *Bretagne*, which belong'd to one of his Children, into the Inferior Rank of a *Mesne-Tenure*? We find the Contrary, that this fierce and ambitious Prince himself led his Eldest Son to the Foot of the Throne of *Lewis VII*, to do Homage for *Bretagne*, and that he engag'd after that another of his Children to recover this Fief from his Elder Brother, the Duke of *Normandy*. Let him consult *Thomas Walsingham*, *Gervase of Canterbury*, *Roger de Hoveden*, *Radulphus de Diceto*, *John Brompton*, *Matthew Paris*, all *English* Historians, and Contemporaries, or very near the time we speak of. Can we believe that these Historians, our Enemies, jealous of the Glory of their Nation, could have spoken so positively of the Sovereignty of our Kings, and in Prejudice of the Independence of their Princes, if the Rights of our Kings, and those of the Dukes of *Normandy* over *Bretagne*, had not been a Truth that was incontestable, and equally acknowledg'd by the most opposite Parties? We cannot demand a Proof more solid than the Testimony of those that have so much Interest to oppose it.

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The King of *England* having kill'd with his own Hands the Young *Arthur*, Duke of *Bretagne*, his Nephew, the *Bretons* carried their Complaints to *Philip the August*, as Sovereign to both sides: *Philip* at their Request cited the King of *England*, as a Vassal of the Crown, to the Court of Peers. *John* suffer'd himself to be condemn'd for Contumacy: A War follow'd upon this Procedure; the King in Execution of the *Arrêt* made himself Master of all *Normandy*; and by this Reunion, *Bretagne*, that held of it before, became again a direct and immediate Fief of our Kings: and this Event happen'd about 300 Years after this Lordship had been separated by *Charles the Simple* in favour of *Rollo* and his Successors.

I must repeat here what I said in the *Treatise of the Fiefs* about this Change of Homage paid by the *Bretons* to our Kings, that the Reader may judge the Solidity of the Reply of *F. Lobineau*. We may see by all that has been already said, that *Armorica*, or *Bretagne*, made a Part of the *French* Monarchy, ever since the Reign of the Great *Clovis*, and that the *Bretons*, according to *Gregory of Tours*, were Subjects of the Kings, that were Sons of that Prince. History has fur-

nish'd us with different Proofs of the Tributes which that People paid, and of the Homages which their Chiefs made to our Sovereigns; which all disappear in History, when one Part of *Neustria* was erected into a Dutchy by the *Normans*, and were still interrupted, so long as there were Dukes in *Normandy*. But they reviv'd, when *Normandy* ceas'd to have its particular Princes, and when that Great Province was reunited to the Crown. Whence came that strict, and Periodical Connection between the different Revolutions of *Normandy*, and the Fiefs of *Bretagne*? Was not it, that there was a King in *France*, that convey'd over this Direct and Immediate Seignury of *Bretagne* to the *Normans*, and that there was another Prince in the same Kingdom, who 300 Years after resum'd the Seignury of *Normandy* and *Bretagne*?

This is ill Reasoning, says F. *Lobineau*; it is not strange, continues he, that in so great a Confusion of the Realm before, we find but few Traces of the Homage paid by the Dukes or Counts of *Bretagne*; and if, adds he, the Want of Proofs for it be sufficient to shew these Princes to be Immediate Vassals of the Crown, by the same reason we must deny



deny the Vassalage of others, that are mention'd in History. But notwithstanding the Want of these Precise Testimonies, we may find, saith he, in History some Proofs of the Fidelity and Attachment of the *Breton* Princes to the Kings of *France*, and this doubtless supposes a Vassalage acknowledg'd, and a continu'd Subjection. Our Antagonist, saith he, agrees, that the *Breton* Princes serv'd personally in the Army of *Charles the Simple*, when the Treaty of *St. Clair* was made, and we are appriz'd from *Flodoard*, that Pope *Stephen* having threaten'd Excommunication to the *French* Lords and Princes, if they did not receive King *Lewis, William*, Count of *Poictiers*, and the *Bretons*, with their Princes rang'd themselves under that King, in the Year 942.

To answer F. *Lobineau* in each Article, I will demand, what Extraordinary Revolutions happen'd in *France*, during the Dominion of the Dukes of *Normandy*, for 300 Years, that cannot be parallel'd by as Great Events, before the Establishment of the *Normans*, in a like space of Time. Every Age has its share of Events, and History presents them almost always the same, revolving in a Circle upon the Great Theatre of the World.

World. Civil and Foreign Wars, Conquests and Usurpations, Change of Sovereigns, Negotiations, and Treaties of Peace ; view what you find towards the End of the Second Race, and the beginning of the Third, and you find the same Events at the End of the First, and at the beginning of the Second.

It appears to me, that the Counts of *Paris* resemble much the Masters of the Palace, and that the Posterity of *Charlemagne* have not been at all better treated than the Race of *Clovis*.

If the *Bretons* paid a Direct and Immediate Homage to our Kings, during the Time that there were Dukes of *Normandy*, why may we not find Proofs of it in the Second Race, as well as the First? But we are told, that this Reasoning by Negative Proof tends to cut off different Vassals from the Crown, whose Homage the Historians have not preserv'd. This has been often advanc'd ; but will *F. Lobineau* engage to shew us any Great Vassals of the Crown, who have constantly done Homage to our Kings 400 Years together, and after that have ceas'd to do it for above 300 Years, and yet the Cause of that Change is not to be found in History? But when he has given us the like Instances, the Comparison

parison of these Vassals with the Counts of *Bretagne* will not be just, because to the Silence of the Historians about the Homage of the *Bretons* to *France*, we have added a Proof of the same paid successively during the same Time to the Dukes of *Normandy*, so far, that here a Negative Argument is sustain'd by a positive Proof, and we see that the *Bretons* have not ceas'd to pay Homage to our Kings, but during the time they paid it to the Dukes of *Normandy*, and that the Reunion of that Province to the Crown has at once reviv'd the same Homage in Favour of our Kings.

F. *Lobineau* is so much afraid to see the *Bretons* fall under the Dominion of the *Normans*, that he finds them a Sanctuary even beneath the Throne of our Kings : He does not speak in this part of his Answer of any Thing but their Fidelity to our Kings; and the Services they paid to *Lewis* appear'd to him, faith he, to be a Vassalage recogniz'd, and a continu'd Subjection. As if he could not distinguish the Military Duties, which all Subjects, whether Immediate, or *Mesne* Vassals, owe to their Sovereigns, from the particular Homages which they pay only to their Lords. The *Bretons* on this occasion render'd themselves at *Rohan*,



*han*, the Capital of the Sovereign Prince of *Bretagne*, to serve there the Sovereign of the whole Realm: and we have already shewn, that in the War pursu'd by *Lewis the Fat* in *Auvergne*, There were the Tributary Troops of *Normandy* in his Army (says the Abbot *Suger*) not as a Friend or Ally, according to *Lobineau*, but as a Noble of the State, and a Debtor of the Realm. The *Bretons* were no more excus'd from these Military Duties, than the other *Mesne* Vassals; but we do not find in History, that they did this particularly since the Treaty of *St. Clair*, and the Erection of the Dutchy of *Normandy*.

The Reunion of the same Dutchy to the Crown reviv'd it. After this, *Philip the August* went into *Bretagne* about the Year 1206; he was receiv'd by the *Bretons* as the Sovereign of the whole Realm, and as the particular Lord of the Country. We have different Proofs in History, but we will only report one, which will suffice to prove that this Province was only one of the Great Fiefs of the Crown; however our Antagonist may support the contrary.

Young

Young *Arthur*, whom we are now to speak of, dy'd without Issue. He left only two Sisters, descended of the Dutchess *Constance* his Mother, and of *Guy*, Viscount of *Thouars*, whom that Princess married, after the Death of *Jeffery Plantagenet*, her Husband, Son of *Henry II.* King of *England*: The Eldest of these, *Eleonora*, was fallen into the Hands of her Brother's Murderer, *John*, surnam'd *Sans-terre*, who, as Duke of *Normandy*, and Sovereign of *Bretagne*, pretended to the Guardianship of her, and conducted her to *England*. *Alice*, the youngest of them, was left with the Viscount *de Thouars*, his Father; who, in the quality of his Tutor, and according to the Custom of that Time, took the Title of Count of *Bretagne*.

This Lord, after many useless Measures, despairing of Power to fetch back his eldest Daughter out of the Hands of the *English*, employ'd his Cares to marry the Younger: The Affair regarded the King, as Sovereign, and Lord of the Country, after the Condemnation of *John Sans-terre*; and the Viscount was interested, as a Father.

They jointly cast their Eyes on *Henry*, Son of *Alan*, Count of *Penthievre*, *Avangour*, and *Goello*, descended of a younger

younger Branch of the House of *Bretagne*; and they resolv'd to make this Alliance between two Persons of the same House, tho' the young Lord was not above four Years of Age. The Contract of Marriage was made at *Paris*, before the King, and by his Authority.

We find this Act in the Chartulary of this Prince, the Original of which is preserv'd in the Repository of Charters; And this Treaty contains a Variety of Articles, that merit well our Reflexion.

The first Condition was, that young *Henry* and the Princess *Alice* should continue under the Guardianship of the King, till the Marriage should be consummated; a Proof, that *Philip the August*, Sovereign of *Bretagne*, re-enter'd into his Right of a direct Seignury over this Province.

The second Article was, that after the Consummation of the Marriage, the Count of *Pentbievre* should not have Power to recal the Count his Son to him; nor the Princess his Daughter; that He should previously give a sufficient Caution to the King of his Fidelity and Service, that he ow'd him; that he, joynly with the Viscount of *Thouars*, should send to the Court of *Rome*, for a Dispensation, as to the Affinity of *Henry* and *Alice*: And that,



that, if He could not obtain it, the Princess should stay in the Court of *France*; but that the King should not have Power to marry her to another, without the Consent of the Viscount, his Father; and that in this Case He should pay to the Count of *Pentbievre* 100000 *French Livres*; or should promise a Sum equal to that He gave the King, for his Right of Redemption; another Proof, that the Lands of *Bretagne* were held originally of the Crown of *France*. In fine, it was stipulated, that the Viscount of *Thouars* should enjoy during Life the Estates situated in the Bishopricks of *Leon, Vannes*, and *Nantes*, for which He should pay Legal Homage to the King; that the Count should do the same for his Son, in regard of Lands in the Bishopricks of *Rennes, Dol*, and *St. Malo*, and that these two Lords should use their Endeavour to obtain of the King the Guardianship of their Children, till the Marriage should be contracted.

This Project was not executed: as to the Cause, History is silent. F. *Lobineau*, who advances his Conjectures into Facts, and turns them always on the Side of his *Chimera*, pretends, that this Treaty had no Consequence, by the Reflections which the King made, saith He,  
on

on the future Power of the Count of *Penthievre*: This Prince, adds He, certainly fear'd that Spirit of Independence, so natural to his Family, which the *Bretons* would joyfully second, to release themselves from the *French* Dominion.

Might not this be construed, that the *Bretons* were New Subjects of the Crown of *France*, reduc'd a few Years ago by force of Arms, that studied only to shake off the Yoke of unjust Power, impos'd only by Violence; tho' of their own Accord they had for seven hundred Years recogniz'd our King for their Sovereigns? It is apparent, that when He lent these Reflections to *Philip* the *August*, He forgot what He was forc'd to avow in his Answer, that the *Bretons* were subject to the Kings of *France*, since the Reign of the Sons of *Clovis*; He forgot the recogniz'd Vassalage, and continu'd Subjection of the *Bretons* which He defended against the Sovereignty of the *Norman* Princes. But so it is, this Writer is full of Contradictions, and gives the same Proofs for different Facts. Ever byass'd by the Prejudices of his Country, He offers to us Conjectures for Realities; and those Conjectures He founds on a Chimera of the Independence of his Nation, tho' it was seven hundred Years under the Sovereignty of our Kings. The

The Certainty of the Matter lies here: The Marriage between the young Count of *Penthievre* and the Princess *Alice* was not perfected, either because the Pope refus'd the Dispensation, or that *Henry* was too young, when the Princess was marriageable; and that the Interest of her State requir'd her Marriage to a Prince capable of governing and defending them against the Pretensions of the King of *England*.







# A CRITICAL HISTORY

OF THE

*Establishment of the BRETONS  
among the GAULS; and of their  
Dependence upon the Kings of  
France, and the Dukes of Nor-  
mandy.*

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## BOOK IV.

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THE Match between the Prin-  
cess of *Bretagne* and the young  
Count of *Penthievre* not be-  
ing determin'd, the King,  
in Concert with the Viscount  
*de Thouars*, espous'd this great Heiress  
to *Pierre le Dreux*, call'd after *Mauclerc*,

a Lord of the Blood, as they spoke at that time, and descended from King *Lewis the Fat*, by his Uncle *Robert de Dreux*, call'd *the Great*. This young Prince, tho' Master of a slender Fortune, and design'd for the Church, in hope of rising to the first Dignities of the Kingdom, was indebted to the King for so considerable an Establishment. \* *Philip*, says the Historian, gave the Daughter of *Guy de Thouars*, Twin-Sister of *Arthur*, in Marriage to *Pierre Mauclerc*, and with her the whole Dutchy of the lesser *Bretagne*. He render'd Homage to the King for it; and we will report this Act, to shew the Extent of the Rights of the Crown of *France* at that Time, over the Province of *Bretagne*.

I *Pierre*, Son of *Robert*, Count *de Dreux*, make known to all present and to come, that I have made Homage against all Men that may live and dye, to my Lord, *Philip*, illustrious King of *France*; and I have promis'd by Oath, that I will faithfully serve, all the Time of my Life, the King my Lord; and that I will not receive the Homages and Oaths of Fidelity of the *Bretons*, but saving the Fealty they owe to the King my Lord;

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\* In diebus illis, Petrus, &c. Rigord, de Gest. Philippi.

so that, if I do not serve him well and faithfully, nor execute the Convention I have made with him, they shall declare against me in his Service, and do me all the Nuisance they can, till He has receiv'd full Satisfaction. I have also promis'd that I will hold, keep, and observe well and faithfully all the Treaties and Covenants he has made with the *Bretons* his Subjects, which expire on the *Sunday* before the Purification, in this present Year; and likewise those that He made with *Guy de Thouars*, Count of *Bretagne*, and other Barons and Liege-men of the King, in behalf of *Bretagne*, and of which they have Letters Patents from my Lord the King; and I will not confiscate any part of their Estates, but by Judgment of the Court of my Lord the King of *France*, &c\*.

I pass over the rest of this Act, which is only in the ordinary Stile; excepting that Place in which He gives the King, for a Pledge of his Fealty, *Robert Count de Dreux* his Father, *Robert de Dreux* his eldest Brother, and the Bishop of *Beauvais* his Uncle. But neither the good Offices of this Prince, nor these Warrantees, which ought to be so sacred,

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\* Extracted from the Original in the Repository of the King's Charters; in the Box, entitul'd, Dreux, Novem. 5, Ann. 1212.



kept him from a Share in the Cabals and Civil Wars, with which *France* was harra's'd at the End of the Reign of *Lewis VIII*, and during the first Years of that of *St. Lewis* his Son. The Ports of *Bretagne* were open to the *English*: He made a strict League with the antient Enemies of our Nation; He carry'd in short his Revolt so far, as to pay Homage for *Bretagne* to *Henry III*, King of *England*, and Son of *John Sans-Terre*.

*St. Lewis* speaking of this perfidious Prince in a Letter to *Theobald*, Count of *Champagne*, us'd these Terms, I never found a greater Enemy than this Man.

Yet his Rebellion, and criminal Alliance with Foreigners, were not successful: The principal Lords of his Province, detesting his Revolt, renounc'd their Homage to him by a public Act, and carry'd it directly to the King their Sovereign. The *English* themselves, exhausted by the immense Charge of the War in *Bretagne*, at last abandon'd him.

He saw himself without Subjects or Allies, and for fear of falling into the Hands of his Sovereign, so justly provok'd, He put a Rope about his Neck, says *Matthew Paris*, and implor'd his

Mercy. That Historian tells us, the King received him with these dreadful Words; \* Thou wicked Traytor, tho' thou hast again deserv'd an infamous Death, yet I pardon thee, in regard to the Nobility of thy Descent: but I leave *Bretagne* to thy Son only for his Life; and I will, that after his Death that Province shall be subject to the Kings of *France*.

I drew the same Conclusion in the *Treatise of the Fief*; that a pious King, who gave the utmost Proofs of his Aversion to seize the Rights of another in all his Reign; and who on a Scruple of Conscience surrender'd whole Provinces to the *English*; that He ought to be well persuaded that *Bretagne* was originally a Fief of the Crown; and so might justly re-unite it by the Rebellion of his Vassal.

I have added, that this Menace not being attended with any Consequence, we may presume that St. *Lewis*, mov'd by the Submission of *John I*, call'd *the Ruddy*, Son of *Mauleorc*, did not after execute this Re-union.

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\* *Gui Rex Francorum, &c. Matt. Par. ad Ann. 1234.*

Let it not displease this Author, says F. *Lobineau*, speaking of me, the Proof is feeble; for it is founded upon a Discourse of *Matthew Paris* only, and notwithstanding the Threat of *Lewis* to *Mauclerc*, to leave his Son the Dutchy only for Life; his Sons, and their Descendents possess'd it almost 300 Years after. This Author, adds he, will say that Saint *Lewis* was soften'd; but it is more probable, that so Just a Prince was sensible that if *Bretagne* was an Ancient Fief of the Crown, it was a Fief of a Particular Nature, not separated from it, like others, and that therefore he could not re-unite it by the Rebellion of his Vassal.

This Proposition has several Mistakes, which might be perverted, tho' against the Intention of F. *Lobineau*, to Consequences pernicious to the Repose of the State, and contrary to the Re-union of this Province to the Crown, about the Year 1532. But since the Decision of our Dispute turns upon it, it is proper to go to the bottom of a Question, reviv'd so often by the Enemies of *France*, and now re-appearing in a Book proscrib'd by Arrest of Parliament. I will not repeat here the Proofs of the Permission of our Kings to the first *Bretons* to occupy



cupy and cultivate their Lands in *France*. I think I have demonstrated the Vassalage of the *Bretons*, by unanswerable Authorities. To maintain the contrary, *F. Lobineau* must charge a Falshood upon his own Legends, *Gregory of Tours*, *Eginard*, and the Authors of our Annals; the Fathers of the Council of *Tours*, and *Savonieres*, the Solemn Treaties with the Dukes of *Normandy*, of the House of *Anjou-England*, and the Count of *Penthievre*, and the Viscount of *Thouars*, in which the Right of Redemption is stipulated for the Fiefs of *Bretagne*; all Proofs it was originally from the Crown. This it is which *John de Montfort* recogniz'd after, in the famous Process at the Court of Peers for the Succession of the Dutchy of *Bretagne*, against *Charles de Blois*, of the House of *Chatillon*, who espous'd the only Daughter of *Guy*, Uncle of *John* of *Montfort*. He pretending to be judg'd by the Salique Law, affirms, that *Bretagne* was a Fief of the King, and a Part of the Domain of the Crown. He did not think it a foreign Independent Dominion, which could not be re-united by the Rebellion of the Vassal. If a Proposition so false and ill-judg'd must take place, as this modern Historian asserts,

ferts, that Our Kings could not put in Execution, upon the *Breton* Rebels, both the Re-union, and that Act of Feudal Justice, prescrib'd by the Laws and Custom, in Prejudice of the Lawful Heirs of the same Province; in a Word, if the Sovereignty of our Kings only extends to the Persons, and not to the Lands of the Dutchy, it will follow naturally, that *Francis I.* could not, as he did, Re-unite for ever to the Crown, in Bar of the same Heirs, a Province which was not annex'd to it, but by the two Marriages of *Anne of Bretagne* with the Kings *Charles VIII.* and *Lewis XII.* the Ties of which were after broken by the Death of that Princess, and by the Extinction of the eldest Branch that was upon the Throne of *France*, and of all his Posterity.

Such were, before *F. Lobineau*, the Pretensions of the Kings of *Spain*, of the Dukes of *Lorraine*, of *Savoy*, of *Mercœur*; which they endeavour to improve upon several Foundations, after the Death of our Last Kings of the Branch of *Valois*; and when *Henry*, Head of the House of *Bourbon*, mounted the Throne.

We are not ignorant of the Writings, publish'd by these Princes, during the League, and after it, against this Re-union  
of

of *Bretagne*, made by *Francis*, in prejudice of the Heirs, descended from *Anne* of *Bretagne*, by *Elizabeth de la Paix*, his Grand-Daughter, and Wife of *Philip II.* King of *Spain*. These Writers maintain, that *Britain* was a Female Fief; because it did not come into the House of *France*, till the Marriage of *Anne* of *Bretagne* with the Kings *Charles VIII.* and *Lewis XII.* They add, that another Woman, *Claude* of *France*, eldest Daughter of *Lewis XII.* and of *Anne* of *Bretagne*, brought that Dutchy in Marriage to the Count of *Valois*, after King of *France*, under the Name of *Francis I.* That *Henry II.* their Son, enjoy'd it by the same Title, as Heir of his Mother; that the Kings *Francis II.* *Charles IX.* and *Henry III.* succeeded him; and that these Princes, as well as the Duke of *Alençon* their Brother, and Queen *Margaret* their Sister, died without Issue; and therefore, that *Bretagne* was devolv'd by Right upon *Elizabeth* of *France* their Sister, Queen of *Spain*, and her Heirs: or upon *Mary Claude* of *France*, Sister of the same Princes, and Wife of *Charles II.* Duke of *Lorraine*.

*Philip-Emanuel*, Duke of *Mercoeur*, a Prince of the House of *Lorraine*, put himself forward, among these, at the  
Time



Time of the League; he had espous'd *Mary* of *Luxembourg*, only Daughter and Heir of *Sebastian* of *Luxembourg*, and descended, by the Female Line, of *Charlotte* of *Bross-Bretagne*, the Branch of *Penthievre*. This Prince, one of the Heads of the League, and who would have form'd to himself a petty Sovereignty in *Bretagne*, engag'd *Dargentré*, a Creature on his side, to write against this Union, and this was the secret Aim of his History. This Mercenary Writer, to flatter the Ambition of his Patron, adopted the Fables of *Jeffery* of *Monmouth*; and borrow'd others from Legends; False Titles did not cost him little, to attack the Sovereignty of our Kings. The Parliament, on the Remonstrances of Mr. *de la Guesle*, Procurator General, seiz'd the Copies of a Book so pernicious, printed *an.* 1582. There was a new Edition of it a Year after, in which the Author, or his Son, were oblig'd to expunge a part of those Errors, which *F. Lobineau* has now reviv'd.

We may say perhaps, that the vain Discourses of these passionate Writers cannot shake an Act so solemn, as this of the Re-union of *Bretagne* to the Crown; which the Consent alone of the particular Estates of this Province suffice to make inviolable. But this is not without

out Great Difficulties. By what Right, say some, could an Assembly of the Estates consent, that a Foreign Principality, which did not come into the Royal House but by Marriage, should be perpetually united to It, in Bar of the Heirs and Princes descended of that Marriage, who now do not Enjoy it? Have these Estates a Right to break an Order of Succession? and if we have no Instances of this in Private Families, How can we suffer it in the House of the Sovereign? Cannot we see plainly, that the Declaration of *Francis I.* and the Act of the Consent of the Estates, partake equally of his Power? This Prince, say the *Spaniards* and *Lorrainers*, came with a Great Body of Troops into the midst of *Bretagne*. The Lords of the Province, either gain'd over, or intimidated, subscrib'd to all: None oppos'd this Declaration: But the very Power of him that made it, and of his Successors, is a Title against those, that would authorize an Act so Unjust, under the Pretext of a Prescription; and after all, can we prescribe against the Natural Rights of Heirs, whether Absent, or oppress'd by a Greater Force?

Thus reason the *Spaniards*, the *Lorrainers*, and the other Princes, who pretend

tend to be Heirs of *Bretagne*; and M. *de la Guesle* himself, tho' Procurator-General, agrees, that this Declaration of the King, and Intervention of the Estates, could not subsist, any further than these Modern Acts were founded on Right, a tacit Re-union, and this General Law, that when the Inferior Fief meets in the same Person with the Reigning Fief, they make but one, the one being incorporated into the other. For, says M. *de la Guesle*, take away the Re-union, built upon the sole Declaration of *Francis I.* and it will hardly stand; and as to the Consent of the States of *Bretagne*, if there was not a tacit Union, by what Right, says this skilful Magistrate, could these Estates exclude the Heirs of the House of *Bretagne* from a lawful Succession, and keep this Province always annex'd to the *French* Crown, of which it was no Part, according to the *Breton* Writers, but by a Match, the Issue of which was extinct in *France*? Besides, continues he, who has told us, that our Enemies should not complain of a pretended Violence in that Assembly? They may, says he, charge themselves with a Fraud, which it is not probable that our Enemies forget, since Citizens themselves, led by a Fantastical Desire of Separation,



paration, contrary to the Peace and Welfare of the Province, have carry'd themselves with a very petulant Liberty, a Thing very usual in this Kingdom.

It is four or five hundred Years, adds he, since a New History of *Bretagne* was printed at *Paris*, written by *Dargentré*, President of *Rennes*, Prime Agent of the Duke of *Mercœur*; which we seiz'd. I do not know whether the Faction of the League, since our Departure, has not given him his Liberty: however, among other Points, where the Author has run against the Dignity of our Kings, of the Kingdom, and of the *French* Name, very falsely, he has touch'd upon this Express Re-union.

*M. de la Guesle* informs us, that the *Spaniards* on their part have publish'd another Work about the Rights of the *Infante*; which was dedicated to him under the Title of the Dutches of *Bretagne*, Countess of *Blois*, and of *Monfort*. And a *Lorrainer* comes in our Days to renew the Quarrel in favour of his Prince. He attacks, as *Dargentré* has done, the Sovereign Rights of our Kings to rejoin the separated Fiefs to the Crown. These heady Maxims have not escap'd the Vigilance of the Magistrate,

strate, and the Book of the *Lorrainer* has shar'd the same Fate with that of the *Breton*.

Yet still F. *Lobineau* plies us with the same Principles. According to this bold Writer, *Bretagne* is not a separate Fief of the Crown, and cannot now be united to it afresh for the Crime of Felony. If, according to him, *Bretagne* does not fall into the Punishment of Forfeiture, because it is not parted originally from the Crown of *France*, this Principle equally destroys any other Re-union. So that he cannot agree to the Use of that Term. The *French* Writers, saith he, commonly abuse the Term of the Re-union to mark the Change which happen'd, *an.* 1532. But he ought not to be angry with it; our Historians neither abuse, nor mistake this Word, which gives us a natural Idea of a Part re-united to its whole. *Bretagne* being a Part of the Antient *Demefne* of *France*, according to *John of Montfort*, was a Fief depending barely on Fealty and Homage, and at those times, without Aid of the Crown. It was joyn'd to its Principal by the Marriage of *Anne* of *Bretagne*, and makes up with it no more than the same Body; like the Trunk of a Tree and the Branches, or as a Stream, divert-  
ed

ed from the main River, after a short Course, returns : *velut unda supervenit undam ;*

*As rolling Waters form a mingled Tide.*

Can we use a more proper or convenient Term, than Re-union? True, it does not suit the Prejudices of F. *Lobineau*, and we ought not to use it, could he effectually prove a Series of Kings of *Bretagne*, before the *French* gain'd a footing among the *Gauls*. But since the History of *Riwal* is as Apochryphal as that of *Conan Meriadec*, it is not just to make the Sovereignty of our Kings, and the sacred Rights of their Crown, depend upon Legends and Romances, which were mostly written 500 Years after the time we speak of. The sequel of this Treaty affords us Proofs of Fact, against the Inductions drawn by F. *Lobineau* from the different Relations of these Fabulous Writers ; and we see in it that our Kings re-united *Bretagne* to their Crown in the Case of Felony and Rebellion. But we must first answer the Objections of F. *Lobineau* against the Authority of *Matthew Paris*.

He



He charges him with falshood, as to the Manner, in which *Pierre Mauclerc* came to Implore the Mercy of Saint *Lewis* : and the Answer that was made him. Words, says he, that are purely the Invention of the Author. Such an Accusation ought to be sustain'd by some Authority, that should destroy, or at least balance that of the *English* Historian. Could not he as well say, that one Author writes in an Outrageous Manner, that a Passage of another is interpolated, that the Faults of this are owing to Invention, and that another is full of Errors and of Passion ? And does he think by these Assertions, without proof, to sink the Testimony of the most Authentic Historians ? *M. Paris* was Contemporary with St. *Lewis*, and therefore no Stranger to the Affairs of the *French* Court. The Rebellion of a Count of *Bretagne* so long ago, his strict Union with *England*, and being reduc'd to beg the Mercy of St. *Lewis*, is an Event too Considerable for the *English* not to be well acquainted with it.

Does not F. *Lobineau* himself cite an Historian, that says, the Count of *Bretagne* entirely submitted himself to the King ? I ask him, why the *English* Historian, subject to a King, the Enemy of

*France*, and who was always in Confederacy with the Duke of *Bretagne*, should invent a Fact so humbling to his Ally, whom that King would not abandon, so long as he had Power to support him. Probability it self spoils the Objection: else none hitherto has complain'd of the want of Exactness and Fidelity in the *English* Historian. On the contrary, \* *F. Mabillon*, a competent Judge of the Merit of Historians, assures us, that for the Affairs of the thirteenth Age, we cannot consult a better Historian, than *Matt. Paris*. But when he was an Eyewitness of the Event he reports, he is not believ'd by *F. Lobineau*; who proscribes without Quarter every Writer, that is not favourable to his Prejudices.

But to follow the Thread of our Story. *Pierre Mauclerc*, some time after, resign'd the Dutchy to *John the Ruddy*, his Son, to whom it belong'd by Right of his Mother: and after this Abdication, he took only the Quality of *Pierre de Brayne*, Knight.

He was call'd *Mauclerc*, because having been design'd in his Youth for the Clergy, he went afterwards into the Ar-

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\* *Des Etudes Mon.* l. 2.

my. Born a Younger Son of a Family not very Wealthy, he was oblig'd to *Philip the August*, as we said, for his Marriage with the Heiress of *Bretagne*. His Head was turn'd with the Power and the Riches he acquir'd by this Alliance. Big with Pride of his Might and Capacity, he enter'd into different Leagues with the Enemies of *France*, against his Sovereign; \* Enterprising all, and finishing nothing; more cunning than skilful, tho' an Ancient Author says, that he had more Sense than all the Lords of *France*: of a Spirit Unquiet, Vain, Ambitious, Ungrateful, without Faith, Probity, or Friends, insincere in his Words, inconstant in his Treaties, lost in Conceit, swell'd with his own Merit, and thinking that he knew all, without ever knowing how to Conduct himself, or the Great Art of Reigning, which only deserves the Application of a Prince.

His Sons, as he did, paid Homage to the King for *Bretagne*; I have plac'd this Event in the Year 1240: F. *Lobineau* puts it, *an.* 1234. This is indifferent, as to the Main of the Question; However, I must tell him, it is dated, *an.* 1239, in

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\* *Extract of a Book, of the Lincage de Dreux.*



*March*, which comes to the Year 1240, according to the manner of the Present Calculation; therefore he must lay the Charge upon the Act it self, and prove his Date to be more Exact.

*John II.* succeeded in the Dutchy of *Bretagne* to *John the Ruddy*, his Father, about the Year 1287. This Prince obtain'd of King *Philip the Fair*, the Erection of it into a Peerdome: that he might, as a Duke, pay his Homage to the King. The Author of the Treaty of Enfeoffment, says *F. Lobineau*, pretends this was done to reward the Services of *John II.* to the Crown. But the modern Historian does not agree to that. It would be proper to see the Explanation of the abovemention'd *Marion* upon this Head. “ *John* the Second, “ Duke of *Bretagne*, a Sovereign Prince “ in his State, saving his Homage, seeing that the Peers, in the Privy Council, in the Estates, in the Parliament, “ and other Ceremonies, were of that “ Rank that he was oblig'd to retire, or “ contend with them, desir'd to be a “ Peer, and obtained the Peerdome to “ *Bretagne*, for himself, and his Successors. But after, some of them, in “ fear that this laid a stricter Tye upon “ them, than the Dutchy before, being “ sum-

“summon’d to join them together,  
 “refus’d; paid the Homage of the  
 “Dukedom, and excus’d themselves from  
 “the other.

We have already affirm’d, that *Marion* was only a private Advocate in Causes, when he pronounc’d this Oracle, in a *Pleader*, and in a Process between particular Persons. But when after he came to the Dignities mention’d by F. *Lobineau*, to give more Weight to his Authority, and living at the End of the 16th Age, should not he be better instructed in the Motives that engag’d *Philip the Fair* to give the Peerdom to *Bretagne*, than that Prince himself; who expresses it thus in his Letters. “None  
 “can be ignorant of the kind Offices  
 “we have, and will continue to render  
 “to the Duke of *Bretagne*, the Labours  
 “he has undergone, and the Expenses  
 “he has furnish’d out, to sustain the Honour of the Crown.” This is as Credible as *Marion*, who dy’d an. 1605, as to the Motives of this Erection. But what might appear a little surprizing to the Readers of this last Work of F. *Lobineau*, is that himself has affirm’d, that this Erection was made, to recompense *John II.* for his Services to the Crown; in his History, tom. 1. l. 9. p. 286. in

these Terms. “ *Philip the Fair* being  
 “ at *Courtray* in *December*, in regard to  
 “ the Great Services of the Duke of  
 “ *Bretagne*, made him a Peer of *France*,  
 “ with the same Prerogatives that were  
 “ enjoy’d by the Duke of *Burgundy*;  
 “ declaring that the Peerdom should be  
 “ annex’d to the Dutchy, and that the  
 “ hitherto Count of *Bretagne* should be  
 “ ever call’d Duke henceforward.” This  
 Author ought to reconcile himself with  
 himself, and tell us, whom we are to be-  
 lieve, *F. Lobineau* in his History, or *F.*  
*Lobineau* in his Reply to the *Treatise of*  
*the Fief*.

For, as for *Marion*, who liv’d near 400  
 Years after the Fact, we must prefer to him  
 the Testimony of a King, who was Author  
 of the Privilege in Question: and if this  
 Advocate had been as well instructed in  
 the Affairs of *Bretagne* as he would make  
 us believe, could he be ignorant that the  
 same *Philip* granted the Year before, and  
 an. 1296, to the Count of *Bretagne*, in  
 favour of his Services, (as we see in his  
 Letters) that the *Bretons*, Vassals of the  
 Duke should not have power to summon  
 him to the Court of *France*, on the first  
 Motion of a Suit at Law: this was ac-  
 corded to him and his Successors, pre-  
 serving their Fealty to the King of *France*.

We



We see by this Charter, that the Services of the Count of *Bretagne* were the Motive to this Favour: and we must remark, that *Philip* agreed only to it conditionally, that they kept their Fealty: this is formally express'd in the Title: But our Author, tho' we find this Act in the Book of his Proofs, does not mention it in his History; and it proves, that till the End of the Thirteenth Age, the *Bretons* carried their Process at Law and Actions with their Princes and their Officers to the Court of our Kings, in the first Motion of a Cause: it shews at once, the Extent of the Sovereignty of our Kings over *Bretagne*, and the Necessity its Dukes were under to have their Ordinances confirmed by our Sovereigns.

*John* I, of whom we shall now speak, having driven the *Jews* from his State, at the Petition of the Clergy and the Nobility, declar'd in his Edict, that he would use his Power with the King, to obtain a Confirmation \* of his ordinance, by his Royal Letters. It appears also, that the *Breton* Lords did not pay their Homage to their Duke, till they had receiv'd the Order and Permission of the Sovereign. We have a Treaty between

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\* *Præterea bonâ fide, &c. Preuv. du 8. liv. p. 393.*

*John*, Duke of *Bretagne*, and *Ralph de Fougeres*, by which that Lord promiseth to do Homage to the Duke for the Fief of *Fougeres*, when we shall be permitted, saith he, by the King of *France*, either by Word, or by Writing \*. And the same † Count of *Bretagne*, to encrease his Gain and Riches, having by the Counsel of the *Lombards*, lower'd the Standard, and instead of making it no more than Nine *Sous*, advancing it to Twelve, he was condemn'd by *Arrêt* of Parliament, to restore it to its former State, and to expell the *Lombards*; whom I suspect to be the same *Jews*, we are going to speak of, that disguis'd themselves by the Name of *Jews*, to get a footing in several States of Christendom. *John II.* having made his Will, had it confirm'd by *Arthur*, Duke of *Bretagne*, his Eldest Son, who expresses himself in these Terms: “ And if it  
 “ happens, that I shall endeavour the  
 “ Contrary, I will that My Lord the  
 “ King of *France* compell me to keep  
 “ all these things, as aforesaid, accord-

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\* Promisit autem dictus Radulphus, &c. Preuv. du. 7.1. p. 192.

† Comes Britanniae emendavit hoc, quod, &c. From the Register of *Arrêts* Entitled, *Judicia, Consilia, & Arresta*, expedita in Parlamento Candelosæ, an. 1194.

“ing to his Pleasure, &c. pr. l. 9. p.  
“451.

Can there be a sovereign Power more absolute, than that which *Philip the Fair* exercis'd over *Bretagne*, in the Time of *John II*? The King of *France*, to support a great War against the *English* and *Flemings*, laid Taxes upon *Bretagne*, even upon the Clergy. The \* Official of *St. Malo* was set to raise them; and the Edict of the King imply'd, that the *Bretons*, who had a certain Income, should follow him to *Flanders* with a Number of Soldiers, proportionable to their Estates.

This sovereign Power of our Kings extends itself over the Person and Family of the Duke of *Bretagne*; and the same *John II.* we are to speak of, desiring to emancipate *Pierre de Bretagne*, his Son, could not do it without the Authority of the King; to which also He recurr'd for the Confirmation of a particular Treaty, which He made with his Son, upon the Subject of the Viscount of *Leon*.

Could He be amaz'd, after so many and different Proofs of the Subjection

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\* Officialis Macloy, Collector decimar, &c. p. 467.



of the *Bretons*, if their Duke *John II.* who was only a Count, and a Vassal to the Crown, aspir'd to the Dignity of a Peer, in Recompence of his Services? But He seems to understand the Advocate *Marion*, that the Count of *Bretagne* did not demand this Quality, but only to avoid a Clash with the Peers in Points of Ceremony; as if the Functions of that eminent Dignity, the first of the State, were limited to Days of Ceremony. Could our Advocate be ignorant of that which the Count of *Bretagne* knew better than He? This is, because the King could not raise a Prince in his Kingdom, to a higher degree of Honour and Authority, than by associating him to the secular Peers of *France*; all then sovereign Princes, whom our Kings call the Guardians of the Salique Law, Defenders of the Crown, and born Judges of their Subjects, who are call'd Peers in the Feudal Language; meaning the chief Vassals of Lands, holden of the same principal and reigning Fief.

Thus it was, that towards the End of the second Race, Governments were turn'd into hereditary Titles, the Lords of the Six greatest Lay-Fiefs, who held immediately of the Dukedom of *France*, took the Character of Peers of *France*.  
Bre-

*Bretagne* was not then contain'd in them, because it held directly of the Dukes of *Normandy*; but having been affranchis'd from that foreign Tenure, by the Reunion of *Normandy* to the Crown, *Philip the Fair* was pleas'd to erect it into a Peerdom, which He could not have done, if this Province had not been in the same Degree of Vassalage with the other great Fiefs, that were grac'd with that *August* Title. And is it probable, that a Prince, one of the most skillful we ever had, could make him a Peer, who was Count of a foreign Nation, establish'd among the *Gauls* before the *French*, and originally independent of the Crown; and that He could have given him not only the simple Rank of Precedence, but a Right, as a Native, to assist in the great Councils of our Nation; to be among the States at the Head of the Nobility; to decide supremely with the King upon all the Affairs that concern the great Fiefs?

Can we believe, that the other Peers, the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Aquitain*, the Counts of *Flanders*, *Champagne*, and *Tboloufe*, all Fellow-Peers, and only holding of the same high Seignury, could suffer a County to be their Associate in the Peerdom, that had not equally with  
their

their Estates, a Portion of the proper Demefne of the Crown?

We know, says *Du Tillet*, that all, who held immediately of the same Lord, were call'd Peers of the Fiefs, and of the Court. They were to accompany their Prince, when He took Possession of his Lordship, to serve him in his Wars, and to assist in the Judgments He gave to his Vassals. *Pierre Mauclerc*, having revolted from *St. Lewis*, was judg'd in the Camp of *Ancenis* by different Lords ecclesiastical and laical, because He was no Peer of the Realm; and if in that Judgment we find a Subscription of Counts of *Flanders*, and of *Champagne*, this was only to assist at the Judgment as Barons. All the Peers were Barons, and the high Barons of *France*; But all the Barons were not Peers. On the contrary, we see that King *Philip*, the *August*, having caus'd a Proceeding in Form to be enter'd against *John Sans-terre*, King of *England*, and Duke of *Normandy*, for the Murder He committed upon his Nephew, *Arthur*, Duke of *Bretagne*; this Prince was cited as Peer and Duke of *Normandy*, says *Alan Bouchard*, the *Breton* Historian, to appear personally before the King, and the Peers of *France*; and it is necessary in any parallel Case, that the  
Court



Court according to Custom be grac'd with its Peers. Thus they spoke at that Time. *Froissard* speaking of a Voyage made by *John de Montfort* to the Court of *France*, to dispute the Succession of *John III*, Duke of *Bretagne*, against *Charles de Blois*, of the House of *Chattillon*, and Nephew, by his Mother, of *Philip* of *Valois*, King of *France*: There attended, says this Author, King *Philip*, the twelve Peers, and the Barons of *France*, with Monseigneur *Charles de Blois*. I do not know, whether after so many Proofs of the Pre-eminence and Power of our Peers, I should not be ashamed to answer an Advocate so seriously, who in a common Pleading advances, that the Count of *Bretagne* had not demanded the Title of Peer of *France*, but only to avoid the Embarrassment of the Ceremonial.

But can He be unacquainted, that the Pre-eminence of Peers has always been without Contest! that the Princes and Lords of the Blood, as they are now call'd, were rank'd in the second Order, among the Barons, till they were invested with this eminent Dignity; and because the Rank of the Prince-Peers is not regulated by their Age, or Proximity to the

the Crown, but only by the Antiquity of their Peerage?

Did not *Robert*, Count *de Dreux*, and *Pierre Mauclerc*, Count of *Bretagne*, both Princes of the Blood, Sign after the Peers, in the Arret made by *Philip the August*, and the Peers of *France*, about the County of *Champagne*, claim'd by young *Theobald*, and *Erard* of *Brienne*, who had espous'd *Philippe* of *Champagne*, call'd of *Jerasalem*? Do not we see in the History of *Charles VI*, the Duke of *Bourbon* precede the other Princes, nearer to the Succession of the Crown, purely on the Dignity of his Peerage? And did not the Duke of *Burgundy* take the Precedence of his elder Brother, *Lewis* of *Anjou*, Regent of the Kingdom in the Minority of *Charles VI*, upon this Foundation, that in Quality of Duke of *Burgundy* He was Dean of the Peers? In fine, it is well known, that it was King *Henry III*, who by his Ordinance, first annex'd the Peerage to the Princes of the Blood by Birth, and gave them by this just Distinction a Precedency to all the Nobles of the Realm. Rank and Order has all along been regulated by the Peerage; neither the Advocate, nor He that quotes him, can shew there

there was any Competition between the Peers of *France*, and the Count of *Bretagne*.

*John* III, Duke of *Bretagne*, Grandson of *John* II, would take an Advantage of the new Dignity annex'd to his House, to defend himself in Parliament against the Procurator-General, who prosecuted him on an Action of Forfeiture, because He coin'd his Money in a different Form from that given him by the Chamber of Accounts in *Paris*. The Duke demanded a Court of Peers, but He was disappointed, and the Process continu'd.

This Right of Coinage was mostly common to the Majority of the great Lords of the Realm. Many Bishops and Abbots enjoy'd this Privilege; but it was inconsiderable, for it extended only to Copper-Money, of a Penny-weight or under. None could make Silver or Gold Coin, but the King, or his Commission. nor above the Value of a Penny-weight; says the Ordinance of *Philip the Fair*, *Ann.* 1300. But notwithstanding this Rule, *John* III, Duke of *Bretagne*, covetous of Gain, minted some Coin of a higher Price.

The Mint of *Bretagne*, says an antient Act, drawn from the Court of Monies, began



began to make some Coin of the Value of Two Penny-weight.

The Commissaries of the King came into *Bretagne*, to check the Consequences of this Abuse. They seiz'd a Quantity of base Coin for the King. The Duke complain'd to the Court, and was answer'd, " That it ought to be declar'd " to the Subjects of the Duke, that none " of his Predecessors ever coin'd the " Double (two Deniers) nor any Piece of " the Royal Coin, as it was made at present ; for the Difference was so small, " that the common People could not apprehend it ; and the Deceit was so great, " that the King and the People were " Losers for three Years, or thereabouts, " since it began, to the Value of 150000 " Livres, and more. We know well at " other times that both He and his " Predecessors have coin'd Money in " *Bretagne*, of the Currency of a Denier ; It had the Arms of *Bretagne*, " in a Form, which He ought not to " change ; and since they had Power to " Coin at *Limoges*, what they made was " a Denier, on which the Arms of *Limoges* were quarter'd with those of " *Bretagne*, and He had no Power to " coin with an Alteration of this Form.

" Also,

“Also, They ought to be inform’d,  
“that the King had a Bull from the See  
“of *Rome*, that no Prelates, Barons, nor  
“others, in his Kingdom, or without it,  
“should coin Money resembling his, or  
“approaching near to it; upon Pain of  
“Excommunication, and not being ab-  
“solv’d but by the Pope himself, &c.”

We remark further, that *Philip the Fair*, having restor’d the Money to the same Weight and Standard, that it had under the Reign of *St. Louis*, commanded the Duke of *Bretagne* to cause it to be observ’d throughout his Dutchy.

I shall push this Article no farther; I spoke of it only to shew, that the Dukes of *Bretagne* were subject to the Orders of the Crown in this, as well as other Points of Vassalage. But what happen’d after the Death of *John III*, affords a new Set of Arguments.

After his Decease, there was a Contest between *Charles de Blois*, and *John de Bretagne*, call’d *De Montfort*, about the Succession. The Affair was brought into Parliament; The Court of Peers adjudg’d it to *Charles*, by the Arret of 1341. His Rival did not abide by this Judgment: He had Recourse to *Edward III*, King of *England*. That Prince, transported to kindle a Civil War in  
VOL. II. F France,

*France*, and find an Entrance into the Kingdom, promis'd his Assistance to the *Bretons*.

I have said in the *Treatise of the Fief*, after *Froissard*, a contemporary Historian, that this Prince, having done Homage to the King of *England*, to soften the King of *France*, and bring him into his Interests, fell into the Crime of Felony, which excluded him from the Succession of *Bretagne*. I have cited *Froissard*, who, tho' a warm Stickler for the *English*, as all the World knows, speaks plainly of *John of Montfort*, that He incurr'd a Forfeiture, because He held of another Lord for *Bretagne*, though He ought to hold only of the King of *France*.

*Froissard* was then in *England*, as He tells us, *Chap. 3. Vol. IV.* speaking of King *Richard*; "I, *John Froissard*, Canon and Treasurer of *Chimay*, was then in the Decline of Life, but received with Favour by him, during a Stay of a Quarter of a Year; because in my Youth, I was, as a Clerk, a Retainer to the Household of the Noble King *Edward*, his Grandfather, and to Madam *Philippe* of *Hainault*, Queen of *England*, his Aunt.

This



This Writer tells us the Homage of *Montfort* to the King of *England*; *F. Lobineau* sets aside this Authority, and denies the Fact, in his History, l. 9. p. 314. and makes it a bare Suspicion, because, says he, the Act of this Homage is not to be found in the Tower of *London*.

But is this a Consequence? Did it go into no Acts in *England*, but those that are found in the Tower of *London*? And does it suffice, in order to destroy the Testimony of *Froissard*, to say without Proof, that the Homage in Question is not in the Tower of *London*? Is He certain it is not there? Has He turn'd over all the Archives, or consulted any Repertory of the Pieces, in which it does not appear? This He has not thought it proper to assure us. This modern Author, too daring as He is, finds himself embarrass'd with a Passage in *Froissard*, and denies at random, that this Homage is to be found in the Records of the Kings of *England*, saving a Liberty to the Readers that will not believe it, to go themselves to *London*, and examine the Truth of his Assertions. But happily the Queen of *England* has spar'd us this Labour: This Princess, whose Life and Reign are not less illustrious in War than Peace, caus'd to be printed before

her Death a vast Collection in Sixteen Volumes, of one Part of the Acts that are preserv'd in the Tower of London, under the Title of, *Acta Publica inter Reges Angliæ, & alios quosvis Imperatores, &c. i. e.* Public Acts between the Kings of England, and other Emperors, States, &c. And in the Fifth Tome of this Treasure of History, we find this very Homage of John of Montfort, p. 452, entitled, *De Homagio, &c. i. e.* Of the Homage done to the King by the Duke of Bretagne. " It records, that " on Friday in Whitfun Week, the 20th " Day of the Month, this present Year, " before the honourable Father in God, " John, Archbishop of Canterbury, William de Bobun, Earl of Northampton, " Robert de Sadington, Chancellor, William de Edington, Treasurer, our Lord " the King, Bartholomew de Burghersk, " John Darcy, the Son; Master John de Thoresby, Keeper of the Rolls of Chancery, John de St. Paul, and many others of the Council of our Lord the " King aforesaid, John de Montfort, " Duke of Bretagne, in the Chamber of " the said Archbishop at Lambeth, made " his Homage to our Lord the King, in " the Words following; I acknowledge " you the Rightful King of France, and " to

“ to you as my Liege Lord I do my Ho-  
 “ mage, for the Dutchy of *Bretagne*;  
 “ which I claim to hold of you, my Lord,  
 “ and become your Liege-man of Life  
 “ and Limb, of Lands and Honours,  
 “ to live and to die, against all People.”

We must think, for the Honour of *F. Lobineau*, that He had not the Knowledge of this Act; but admitting that, ought He, to blind his Readers, decide so haughtily, as He does, that this Act is not to be found in the Tower of *London*? And was not He at least oblig'd to tell us upon what Foundation He advanc'd it? Besides, could He, that pretends to be so well instructed in all the Titles that are preserv'd in the Tower of *London*, not have view'd the Letters of the Lieutenant-General, which King *Edward* sent the same Year into *Bretagne*? He had seen, in his Patents, that *Bretagne* is call'd, Our Dutchy, by the King of *England*; which makes it plain, that He pretended to the Sovereignty of it: \* *Ipsam Joannem, &c.* We make the aforesaid *John* our Lieutenant, and Captain in our Dutchy of *Bretagne*, and the Parts of *Poictou*, adjacent to that Dutchy, by these Presents.

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\* Acta Publica inter, &c. t. 5. p. 754.



And besides, supposing that *F. Lobineau* had not been at the Tower of *London*, that He had not seen any Collection of the Records that are preserv'd there, and that all He has said so positively was invented purely to escape the Authority of *Froissard*; at least He could not be ignorant, that the \* *Dutchess Dowager* of *Bretagne*, and the Lord of *Clifton*, Tutor to the young Prince, did Homage to King *Edward* in the Person of the Earl of *Northampton*, and that they recogniz'd this Prince for their Lord; and that the *English* would have comprehended *Francis*, Duke of *Bretagne*, in the Truce they made with *France*? and that, having surpriz'd the Town of *Fougeres*, *Ann.* 1449, their Deputies maintain'd that He was subject to the King of *England*; a Pretension, that could only be founded upon the Homage of *Montfort*; from which *F. Lobineau*, who reports this Fact, *l.* 17. *p.* 634, ought to conclude, that *Froissard* did not invent it; and the Reader ought to conclude, in his Turn, that *F. Lobineau* was too forward in affirming, that this Act was not to be found in the Tower of *London*.

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\* *Literæ Patentis, Sc. Tour de Londr. l. 20. des pieuv. p.*  
490.

As to the Forfeiture incurr'd by *John of Montfort*, *F. Lobineau*, in his Answer, avers, that, in the Passage I report from *Froissard*, this Author does not say what we pretend; for it is only, that *John of Montfort* had incurr'd a Forfeit, because He held for *Bretagne* of another Lord than the King of *France*, of whom He ought to have his Tenure.

I have always believ'd hitherto, the Crime of Felony was an Exclusion from all Succession; And that a Rebel, who had done Homage to a Foreign Prince, in Prejudice to his lawful Sovereign, was incapable of recovering any Succession to his Estate; and always thought this *Montfort* the more criminal, because He was so hardy, as to recognize the King of *England* for King of *France*. But is it true, what *F. Lobineau* says, that *Froissard* has not affirm'd this Felony alone sufficient to destroy his Pretensions? This is a Question of Fact, and the Text alone of *Froissard* may decide it.

I have quoted it in the *Treatise of the Fief*, c. 71, from the first Book of *Froissard*, in the *Lyons* Edition, p. 87. *F. Lobineau*, on so exact a Citation, should have prov'd I alter'd this Text. It is very proper to make up his Negligence, or

rather his Affectation. Let us see then, whether *Froissard* has said this or no: Behold, how this Historian has express'd himself.

“ The Peers and Barons of *France*,  
 “ says *Froissard*, adjudg'd the whole  
 “ Dutchy of *Bretagne* to Monseigneur  
 “ *Charles de Blois*, and threw the Count  
 “ of *Montfort* out of it, for two Rea-  
 “ sons. 1. Because the Wife of *Charles*  
 “ *de Blois*, by the Representation of  
 “ his Father, who was eldest, next to  
 “ the Duke of *Bretagne*, last deceas'd,  
 “ and his Brother by Father's and Mo-  
 “ ther's Side, came to be nearer than  
 “ the Count *de Montfort*, who was  
 “ younger than the above-mentioned,  
 “ and born of another Mother, that was  
 “ not Dutcheß of *Bretagne* by her  
 “ own Right, so as that He could pre-  
 “ tend a Claim from her. 2. That,  
 “ presuming a Right, *Montfort* had for-  
 “ feited it, for two Reasons; First, for  
 “ holding of another Lord than the  
 “ King of *France*, his proper Sove-  
 “ reign; Secondly, for transgressing the  
 “ Order of his Lord, the King of  
 “ *France*, and breaking his Arrest, and  
 “ Prison, and departing from it without  
 “ Permission.”

*Froissard,*



*Froissard*, as we see, reports two Reasons for the Exclusion of *John of Montfort* from the Succession of *Bretagne*; one of which singly, according to this Historian, would have made him incapable of succeeding.

But, continues F. *Lobineau*, if *Froissard* has said it, I do not see what Conclusion the Author of the *Treatise of the Fief* could draw from it against a Modern Historian of *Bretagne*. What I draw from it, is, that *Bretagne* was originally a *Demesne* of the Crown, as *Montfort* acknowledg'd; that it was a Fief holding of the Kings of *France*, as *Froissard* seriously avows, a Contemporary Historian, and Enemy of *France*: that the Sovereignty of our Kings falls equally upon the Lands of *Bretagne*, for which the Dukes paid the Right of Redemption, and upon the Persons of the *Bretons*: and that this foreign Colony holding their Lands of the mere Liberality of our Sovereigns, the Princes had a Right to transfer the direct Lordship to whom they pleas'd, according to their Convenience and Interest. The second Conclusion I draw, is, that in the Case of Felony and Rebellion, our Kings had a Right to re-unite these Lands to their *Demesne*, as they were accustom'd in the

the Forfeiture of other Great Fiefs depending upon the Crown.

The very Son of this *John of Montfort* affords us another Proof. This Prince, becoming Master of *Bretagne*, by the Succours of the *English*, and by the Victory he obtain'd after the Death of his Father, over *Charles de Blois*, his Rival, would after let the *English* thro' his Country into *France*, tho' he had recogniz'd King *Charles V.* for his Sovereign. "He assembled his Prime Nobility, and represented to them, \* says the Monk of *St. Denis*, that it would be shameful for him, after having Conquer'd his Dutchy by Force of Arms, to suffer the Exactions of the King in it; and to obey, Sovereign as he pretended to be, the Princes that govern'd, and the *French* and *Norman* Nation, that were naturally Enemies of the *Bretons*." But the Lord of *Beaumanoir*, a Man of great Credit, and very faithful to *France*, says our Author, did not fail to convene the Barons, who a little before had sworn Fi-

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\* Hist. de Charles VI. &c. i. c. The History of Charles VI. written by the Orders, and upon the Memoirs of Guy de Monceaux, and Philip de Valette, Fathers of *St. Denis*, by a Contemporary Author, a Religious of their Abby; translated from the Latin Manuscript, by M. le Labourant. l. r. c. 8. p. 17.

delity to the deceased King, and having brought them before the Duke, did not fear to make him ashamed of his Malice, which he openly expos'd. He told him to his Face, that the King was Sovereign of his Land, that he ow'd him Service, and that, if he forgot his Duty, so as to undertake any Enterprize against him, all his Friends and Subjects, that were present, would take the Part of *France*.

The Duke of *Bretagne*, intimidated by this Menace, was oblig'd for some Time to dissemble his ill Designs; but having after found some Conjectures more favourable, he declar'd himself openly for the *English*: The greatest Part of the *Breton* Lords abandon'd his Party; he was after Cited to Parliament, at the Request of the Procurator General. They proceeded against him as a Rebel, and the Dutchy of *Bretagne* was declar'd Re-united to the Crown, for the Crime of Felony and Forfeiture.

The *Arrêt* of this Re-union was pronounc'd in the Court of Peers, and in the Presence of the King. *Jane de Penthièvre*, Widow of *Charles de Blois*, would oppose it. She represented to the King, that by the Treaty of *Guerande*, made after the Death of her Husband,  
by



by the Express Authority of the King himself, by which she had recogniz'd *John of Montfort* for Duke of *Bretagne*, that this Dutchy was entail'd upon her Children; and that the Confiscation and Re-union were so far from having place by the Felony of *John of Montfort*, and by the Civil Death of the Condemn'd, that this Condemnation on the contrary made an opening to the Entail, and call'd her and the Princes her Children to the Succession of *Bretagne*. But neither the King nor the Court of Peers had regard to these Remonstrances; on this Foundation, that the Default of Fidelity in a Vassal annull'd all the Titles, that were posterior to that of the Original Enfeoffment: And this was the Practice of *Philip the August*, in regard to *Normandy*, and the direct Lordship of *Bretagne*, which he confiscated by *Ar-rêt* of the Court of Peers against *John Sans-Terre*, and Re-united after to the Crown, without regard to the Heirs of the *English* Prince.

The Duke of *Bretagne* took this terrible Arrest with great Concern: He had gone into *England*, but return'd with Diligence, to oppose the Execution of it; he took up Arms, and regain'd his Prime Nobility, who were inclin'd

clin'd to recognize the King of *France* for their Sovereign, but would not lose their Particular Lord.

\* *F. Lobineau* tells us, that the *Bretons* promis'd to follow this Prince in the Greatest Dangers; and to convince the *French*, it was as Dangerous to make them Enemies, as it was commodious for them before to have them for Allies and Companions.

Behold the Sovereignty of our Kings again ruin'd by one stroke of a Pen. Would not one understand this Author to say, that the *Bretons* were very Independent of the Crown of *France*, and that their Alliance had been as useful to our Kings, as their Arms had been formidable? If the *Bretons* had been only the Allies of *France*, what would become of so many Homages, and Acknowledgments, which the History of all Ages affords of their Subjection, and Vassalage? *F. Lobineau* ought, to destroy these Proofs, oppose to them any Treaty of Alliance between these two Nations, in which both agreed, as People free and independent upon one another, for mutual Assistances; but till he has fetch'd

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\* Hist. de Bret. l. 12. p. 425.

out any such Act, we will offer to the Public a Request, which these hardy *Bretons* offer'd to the King, to engage his Favour, *an.* 1380.

Be pleas'd, Dread Sovereign, to regard the Prayer of the *Bretons*, who always were, and will be, by the Blessing of God, truly Obedient to the Crown of *France*; and to remember the Healing Word of our Saviour to St. *Peter*, not to pardon only till Seven times; but further.

The same Duke of *Bretagne*, that thought it a Disgrace to acknowledge the King of *France* as his Sovereign, appear'd at *Compiègne* the Year following. *Charles VI.*, who succeeded *Charles V.*, his Father, was there. The *Breton*, being presented to the Young King, fell on his Knees, with the Gentlemen of his Retinue, and addressing himself to that Prince, said; My Dread Lord, I Implore you to Pardon what I have done to provoke you; I am heartily displeas'd with my self for it.

See here the People of *Bretagne*, and their Duke, at the foot of the Throne of our Kings, beseeching the Mercy of their Sovereign, as Humble and Penitent Subjects. Such was the Success of those Menaces, which *F. Lobineau* has describ'd  
in



in his *Bretons*, upon the Faith of a *Breton* Writer, as fabulous in many places as the Romance of *Jeffery of Monmouth*.

The same Duke of *Bretagne*, tho' bred up with the *English* in a Spirit of Revolt, who were then the Implacable Enemies of *France*, durst not yet send an Embassage into that Isle, for the Return of the Dutches, his Consort, without the Express Permission of the King.

That Prince, who justly suspected the Fidelity of a *Breton*, directed his Warrant to the Magistrates of *Rieux*, and *Rochefort*; and by his Letters declar'd his Leave to the Underwritten to go thither; but before these Envoys and Solemn Messengers departed, which are the Terms of the Writ, he commanded them to Swear, that in this Voyage they should enterprize nothing against the Good of his Service, or against his Subjects, or the Welfare of the Realm.

I think this a New Proof of the Subjection of *Bretagne* to our Kings: and I wish we were let into the difference between the Fief of *Bretagne* and the other Great Fiefs of the Kingdom.

The *Bretons* hold the Lands they occupy of the Liberality of our Kings;  
they

they pay them an Annual Tribute, and a Fine of Redemption, on every Change of a Vassal. They levy several Taxes for our Princes; the *Breton* Clergy pay their Tenths to them; the Money of the Country is regulated by their Edicts; all the Public Acts are dated by the Years of their Reign; and their Authority has interven'd in all the Treaties, which the Counts or Dukes of *Bretagne* have made in their own Country.

The *Bretons* had a Right to bring their Lords to the Tribunal of our Kings, on the first Action in Law: and since the Concession of *Philip the Fair*, only by way of Appeal. In short, these Counts or Dukes were oblig'd to march in Person at the *Arriere-ban*. We will produce, in the Sequel of this Treatise, Proofs of a New kind of Authority of our Kings, in singular Cases. Might not we then presume, from this Mass of Proofs, that if *Bretagne* was different from the other Great Fiefs of the Crown, as it is pretended, it was only in a Subjection to more Services than the other Peerdoms of *France*? At least, we do not find in the History of *Burgundy*, *Normandy*, and *Aquitaine*, so many and Particular Examples of the Sovereignty of our Kings.

We

“ We must search the Entire History of *Bretagne*, to report all the Proofs from antient Authors of the Vassalage of the Dukes or Counts of this Province. We have already produc’d the Testimony of the Abbot *Suger*, that they were oblig’d to attend our Kings to the Wars. And I will here alledge another Proof, which I could not pass over, because it gives another of our Modern Historians Character.

The *English* declaring War against *France*, endeavour’d to get an Entrance into the Kingdom. *John of Montfort* offer’d his Ports to them; but fearing that the Faithful *Bretons* would not receive the Enemy into their Country; and knowing besides, that his Duty engag’d him to fight for the King, he found means to deceive King *Charles V*, as Politic a Prince as he was; and to persuade him, that whatever Engagement he was under to serve in this War in Person, yet he could not leave his Province, without exposing it to its Enemies.

The Duke in this View sent to the King the Bishop of *St. Brieuc*, and the Lord of *Clisson*, to assure him of his Fidelity; and obtain his Permission to stay in *Bretagne* for the defence of the Country.



*The Establishment of the*

“ We, *John*, Duke of *Bretagne*, (say  
 “ the credential Letters) and Count of  
 “ *Montfort*, make known to all, that we  
 “ certify to the Wisdom and Loyalty  
 “ of our well-beloved the Reverend Fa-  
 “ ther in God, the Bishop of *St. Brienc*,  
 “ our Chancellor; our dear and faithful  
 “ Cousin, the Lord of *Cliffon*, and eve-  
 “ ry of them, that we have made and  
 “ ordain’d, and by these Presents do or-  
 “ dain them to be our Procurators-Ge-  
 “ neral, Ambassadors, and special Mes-  
 “ sengers, to excuse and allege Causes  
 “ to our Sovereign Lord *Charles*, by  
 “ the Grace of God, King of *France*,  
 “ that we cannot accompany him in Per-  
 “ son; and affirm the Truth of them in  
 “ our Name; and we give them a spe-  
 “ cial Power and Command, to certify  
 “ for us, that we will keep our Loyalty,  
 “ as we are oblig’d, and will be good and  
 “ true Men, and Subjects of the Crown  
 “ of *France*, as we are bound by our  
 “ Homages, without Dissimulation, evil  
 “ Practice, or doing the contrary, either  
 “ by our selves or others; and that we  
 “ will maintain Peace in his Realm, and  
 “ give no Assistance or Aid to another,  
 “ either privately, or by Appointment,  
 “ nor do, nor commit any other Trea-  
 “ son, &c.”

With

With these Powers they arriv'd at Court, and made this Declaration: " We, in  
" the Name of our Lord the Duke of  
" *Bretagne*, at the Request of our Lord  
" the King, by Vertue of the said Pow-  
" er, have sworn, certify'd, and affirm'd  
" to our Lord the King, by our Oaths  
" upon the Holy Gospels, and the Cross  
" touch'd and kiss'd by us, in the Pre-  
" sence of him and his Council, that our  
" Lord the Duke will ever keep his  
" Loyalty, and will be a good and true  
" Man and Subject, &c."

The King, perswaded by these Letters, and the Oath of the Duke, consented that he should stay in *Bretagne*, for the Defence of it, as we see in his own Letters.

" *Charles*, by the Grace of God, King  
" of *France*, to all, to whom these Let-  
" ters shall come, Greeting. We make  
" known, that since we have been cer-  
" tify'd the Presence of our beloved and  
" faithful Cousin, *John*, Duke of *Bre-*  
" *tagne*, in his said Dutchy, has been,  
" is, and may be very profitable to us  
" and our Kingdom, to guard and de-  
" fend his Dutchy, and prevent many  
" Mischiefs that would arise to both, by  
" his Absence: We, on this Delibera-  
" tion, and the Advice of our Council,  
" consent

“ consent to his Stay in it, for the pre-  
 “ sent Occasion ; saving that he shall be  
 “ bound to attend us in our Wars, at our  
 “ Order, or that of our Lieutenants ;  
 “ that he shall be still accountable to us  
 “ and our Successors ; and that he shall  
 “ not apply this to the Prejudice of his  
 “ Fealty that he owes to us, or impair it  
 “ in any other Method.”

These different Acts merit some Reflections. The first is, that the Duke of *Bretagne* owns himself by his Letter, a good and true Man to the King ; that is, holds his Land of him, and owns him for his Lord. He says after, that he is a Subject of the Crown of *France* ; which regards the Sovereignty of our Kings, who comprehend all the Persons, as well as the Estates of the *French* under their Power : At the same time he owns, that if he was capable of falling from his Duty, he should commit a horrible Treason. This he assur'd the King by his Ambassadors, and their Oaths upon the Gospels and the Cross. Then, this Dispensation granted to the Duke, was but for a Time, as appears by the Words *for the present Occasion* ; and above all, tho' this Duke was more potent than the former Counts of *Bretagne*, and enjoy'd then the whole Province, yet he was oblig'd to go to the Wars, not only  
 by



by the Orders of the King, but those of his Lieutenants : And they, who were plain Gentlemen, invested with the Authority of their Sovereign, might send their Orders to the Dukes, which they must obey, and go to the Wars with them ; as we have seen, that the Counts of *Bretagne* under the first and second Race obey'd the *French* Counts, commanding in the Province. These Facts give a mutual Support to each other.

Lastly, this Duke, having violated his Oath, betray'd his Sovereign, and let the *English* into *Bretagne*. F. Lobineau, when He mentions this Action, does not speak of the Perjury, the Treason, the Revolt ; Crimes, of all which the Duke was guilty ; but to diminish the Horror of them, contents himself with saying, that the Acknowledgment of great Favours to the *English* carry'd him above all other Considerations.

Thus, at one Stroke, He makes his Crimes to be Virtues ; but this Art of turning every Fact in Favour of the *Bretons*, and weakening the Proofs of our Sovereignty, agrees better to a Case in Law, than an History. All the History of his Work is in the Title ; tho' without the Truth of a just Historian, he has reported several Things, contrary to his Prejudices, and favourable to the Part of his Antagonists.

Thus, speaking of the Death of *John of Montfort*, he says, We cannot deny, but the Lord of *Cliffon* brought the Duke of *Orleans*, Brother to King *Charles VI*, with an Army to *Pontorson*, to make him Master of the Place, as an Heir of *Bretagne*, as well as the other Children of the Last Duke : But it happen'd, contrary to the Hopes of *Orleans*, that the *Bretons* united to their Prince, who was supported also by the Duke of *Burgundy*, and he retir'd with the Confusion of doing nothing but shew his ill Design.

He draws this Relation from the Chronicle of *St. Brienc* ; a Work so fabulous, that he only durst publish a part of it. It was proper, says he, to report no more of this Chronicle, than the Time of the Author carries it ; the rest is only an Extract of History we see in other Pieces, or of Acts reported before in this Collection: when the Author would add any Thing of his own : It is only Repetition, Circumlocution, Anachronism, or Falshood ; and suppos'd or forg'd Charters, as that of *Alain le Long*, an. 690, in which we find the Doctors in both Laws , and the Names of Families, &c. If this be true of this Writer, as to what regards the Times before him, is he worthy of Belief, in the Facts of his

his own Time? Is it not this Faithful Writer, that F. *Lobineau* would have us believe, in the Events of his own Time, that represents to us this Harangue of *John of Montfort*, which this Prince pronounc'd in a direct Style, or the Author, that makes him speak it; and which maintains that the *French* paid Tribute to the Antient Kings of *Bretagne*?

If he had rather have consulted *Froissard*, a Contemporary Historian, than so fabulous an Author, he had seen, Vol. 4. c. 118. p. 747. Edit. *Lyons*, that the Duke of *Orleans* did not march into *Bretagne*, to make himself Master of the Country, but only to secure the Guardianship of the Young Prince, which belong'd to the King. " It was advis'd in the Council of " *France*, says *Froissard*, that the Duke " of *Orleans*, with the Household Troops, " should advance to the Frontiers of " *Bretagne*, to confer with the *Bretons*, " and the Consuls of the Cities and " Good Towns of *Bretagne*, to know " what they design'd with respect to their " Heir, and to request the Delivery of " him, for his Abode in the Palace of " *France*. Upon this Counsel, the Duke " of *Orleans* executed his Order, and " came to *Pontorson*; there he stop'd,

G 4

" and



“ and signify’d his coming to the Ba-  
 “ rons of *Bretagne* ; and all the Pre-  
 “ lates, Barons, and Consuls assembled ;  
 “ to whom he made the Request afore-  
 “ said. They consulted upon their An-  
 “ swer ; which was, that they would  
 “ guard and preserve their Young Lord  
 “ and Heir of *Bretagne* in their own  
 “ Country. When the Duke of *Orleans*  
 “ saw he had nothing else to do, he  
 “ took the Objection of the Lords, who  
 “ had the Charge of the Heir, to deli-  
 “ ver him, when of Age, to his Natu-  
 “ ral Lord, the King of *France*. With  
 “ this, in Letters written and seal’d, he  
 “ return’d from *Pontorson* into *France*,  
 “ and represented his Affair to the  
 “ King.”

You see here neither War nor Army ;  
 the Question is only about the Educati-  
 on of the Young Prince ; the Duke of  
*Orleans*, Commissary of the King, went  
 to *Pontorson*, a small Village of the  
*Lower Normandy* ; thither came the Pre-  
 lates, and the Great Lords of *Bretagne*,  
 and made an Assembly of the three E-  
 states of the Province : The Duke made  
 an Amicable Proposition ; and they an-  
 swer’d him in the same Manner : The  
*Bretons* pretend to educate their Young  
 Prince, and promise under Seal to deli-  
 ver

ver him to the King, as his Natural Lord, when the Child should be thought by his Governors to be of Age. The Duke of *Burgundy* had after the Guardianship of him; and the Viscount of *Rohan*, offering to oppose him, on a Pretended Express Order from the King, that Prince answer'd him in these Terms; " We  
" command and testify plainly to you, on  
" Pain of our Displeasure, to which, for  
" certain Causes Us thereunto moving,  
" we will that you give no Considerati-  
" on, that you fully and without Delay  
" obey our said Uncle, as the Guardian  
" and Governor of our said Son, and of  
" his Country of *Bretagne*.' These Letters are dated, *Novemb. 6. 1402.* The King here calls the Duke of *Bretagne* his Son, because this little Prince, during the Life of his Father, had espous'd *Jane* of *France*, Daughter of *Charles VI.* and the Duke of *Burgundy* conducted him after to *Paris*, with his Brothers, the Princes *Arthur* and *Giles*; of whom we shall speak in the Sequel.

We may see by these so different Relations, that *F. Lobineau* had rather follow the Chronicle of *St. Brieuc*, all fabulous, as he owns it, than *Froissard*; because the first speaks with Contempt of the Duke of *Orleans*, who retir'd,  
says

says he, with Confusion ; the other tells us, that he return'd with Letters seal'd by the Barons of *Bretagne*, who engag'd to remit their Young Duke to the King, when he should be of Age: a Proof of his Lordship and Sovereignty. And this is that which F. *Lobineau* did not care to report.

*John* of *Montfort*, the fifth of the Name, Duke of *Bretagne*, did Homage to the King. He cast himself upon his Knees, but the King rais'd him. He stood up, put off his Cap of Honour, joyn'd his Hands, put them between those of the King, and paid his Homage. *Arnaud de Corbie*, Knight and Chancellor of *France*, addressing his Speech to him, told him, That it was Liege-homage he paid, like that all the Kings of *France* receiv'd from their Vassals, and above all, from the Peers of *France*, and that the Duke of *Burgundy* had been a Leige-Man, as well for his Dutchy, as the County of *Flanders*. And to prove this Liege-Homage, he commanded the Secretary to read the Homages of *Arthur*, and *John*, Counts of *Bretagne*; where the Word, *Ligance*, was expressly employ'd; Then a *Breton* Lord, Counsellor of the Duke, demanded a Copy of these Acts, and declar'd, that His Master had done  
Homage,



Homage, saving the Liberties, Prerogatives, and Honours of the Dutchy of *Bretagne*: The Chancellor answer'd, that this Homage was receiv'd according to the Ordinary Form; and saving his Right, and that of any other: And a Verbal Process was drawn up of all that pass'd in that Ceremony.

The *English* then made War, and ravag'd our Coasts. The *Bretons*, says F. *Lobineau*, arm'd to revenge their Depredations; some Authors add, continues He, that as they were appriz'd, they had been ill look'd upon by the Court of *France*, because they were in Arms before without Order, they sent *William du Châtel* to obtain a Permission for it; that he could hardly make them relish this Project with all his Eloquence, but however he obtain'd his Desire.

But says He, tho' the *Bretons* had acted without Order, in taking up Arms perhaps without consulting the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Court of *France*, while their Duke was there, it does not appear that the Duke being in the Country, they ought to receive their Orders from any but the Court of *Bretagne*, to arm against the Enemies of the Province.

F. *Lobineau* will not allow the Assertion of the Monk of St. *Denis*, that the  
*Bretons*

*Bretons* had been oblig'd to ask the Permission of the Court to arm against the *English*. This carries a remarkable sign of Vassalage; and yet is expressly reported by that Monk; All the Difficulty, says He, was to obtain the Permission of the Princes of *France*, who had already found it a Mistake, and especially the Duke of *Orleans*, to arm by their own Particular Authority. The Author that reports this Event was a Contemporary. He tells us, he wrote his History, when the *Bretons* desir'd this Permission. But there is not a Point of Fact so positive, but F. *Lobineau* can discharge it with a *Perhaps*; or some other Conjecture, supported by the like Foundation. The *Bretons* may ask this Permission, as much as they please, and we may produce the Antient Original of it; but our Author can elude these Proofs, however solid. It was, says he, because the Duke of *Bretagne* was then in the Court: This is a Commentary, that gives very great Light to the Text of the Monk of St. *Denis*. By ill Luck for the Commentator, the Duke of *Bretagne* was in his Country, and actually out of the Guardianship of the Duke of *Burgundy*; and therefore, it was not on his Account, that they address'd for Leave to Arm. This must  
depend

depend on a Superior Authority, and the *Bretons* could not make War against the *English*, without the Order of the Princes that had the Regency of the State, during the Infirmary of *Charles VI*.

*Francis I*, Son of *John V*, Duke of *Bretagne*, succeeded him in this Principality. He did Homage for it to King *Charles VII*, and after he had acquitted this Duty of a Vassal, addressing himself to the King, he said; " My Lord, doth  
" it please you to confirm my Liberties,  
" Franchises, Pre-eminencies, and Honours, and maintain me, as my Lords  
" your Predecessors have maintained me,  
" and mine: " The King answer'd Him;  
" I confirm them, and promise you to  
" maintain them, and rather to encrease,  
" than diminish them in your Time. For  
" you cannot be nearer to me, if you were  
" my Son, or my Brother."

This shews, they had no Privileges, but from the Grant of our Kings. They had as many special Favours, as they could obtain upon different Occasions; but all Conditional, and for so long time as they persisted in their Duty, and according to the Letters of *Philip the Fair*, in their Fidelity to their Sovereigns. The Duke *Francis*, Nephew of *Charles VII*, requir'd of him Letters of Amnesty, besides



sides a Confirmation of his Privileges, as well as for the *Breton* Lords, that might have born Arms against *France*, during the Life, and by the Orders of Duke *John V.* The King granted him again this Favour, and these Letters of Amnesty form a very convincing Proof of the Absolute Sovereignty of our Kings over *Bretagne*, and over all the *Bretons*; therefore we here publish a Part of them.

“ *Charles* by the Grace of God, King of  
 “ *France*, to all to whom these Pre-  
 “ sents shall come, Greeting. As our  
 “ Well-beloved Nephew, *Francis* Duke  
 “ of *Bretagne*, knowing the Proximity  
 “ of his Lineage to us, is of late come to  
 “ a Good-will towards us; and where-  
 “ as under the Pretence of certain Cove-  
 “ nants, which our deceas'd Brother,  
 “ the Duke of *Bretagne*, his Father late-  
 “ ly departed, he being under Age, and  
 “ others, their Subjects and Relations  
 “ (to preserve and guard their Countries,  
 “ Lands, and Lordships from Mischiefs  
 “ and Inconveniencies, which daily happen  
 “ from the Wars, and Divisions, which  
 “ have long been in our Realm) made  
 “ with our Enemies, in disavowing us,  
 “ and adhering to them, it might be  
 “ doubted, that some Charge might be  
 “ laid against them on this or some other  
 Occasion,

“ Occasion, to the Disturbance and Da-  
“ mage of their Estates, Lands, and  
“ Seigneuries, and he is desirous that we  
“ should provide some convenient Re-  
“ medy against it: We, remembering  
“ the great and notable Services they  
“ have and still do pay to us, in our  
“ Wars, and otherwise; and considering  
“ the Proximity of their Lineage towards  
“ us, and the Difference of the Time  
“ that has past between the Wars afore-  
“ said, and his present good Disposition  
“ towards us; of our own certain Power,  
“ and Grace, in bar of any Forfeiture  
“ that may be incurr'd by our said Ne-  
“ phew, our Cousins, the Count of  
“ *Richmont*, our Constable, the Count  
“ *d'Estampes*, his Brother, *Pierre* of  
“ *Bretagne*, their Subjects or Servants,  
“ do Remit and Pardon generally and  
“ perpetually by these Presents all Mat-  
“ ters aforesaid, without any future Pre-  
“ judice to them in Body or Estate, &c.  
“ For such is our Will.”

These Letters of Remission, to which they had Recourse, to prevent the Seizure of their Lands, prove clearly against the Pretensions of F. *Lobineau*, that *Bretagne* was a Fief of the Crown, and might be confiscated for Felony, and that the Persons of its Princes were subject to  
the

the Justice of the King. After this Proof, what becomes of all the vain Reasonings of F. *Lobineau*; who has been so bold as to advance, that *Bretagne* is in the same Condition with many other Provinces of the Kingdom? If he will say to this, that the Authority of the King has not the same Extent there, let him explain himself more distinctly, and we shall know how to answer him.

But to prevent this Objection, we will add a new Proof of a particular Kind to all those which the Historians of different Ages have furnish'd us with.

*Francis*, Duke of *Bretagne*, had a Brother call'd *Giles*, suspected of entertaining a secret Intelligence with the *English*; but his true Crime consisted in the Differences which he had with the Duke his Brother about his Appanage. This caus'd an Animosity between them, and the Duke applied to the King for Justice, and an Arrest upon his Brother. The King, at his Request, dispatch'd *Renaud de Denisai* to him, with an Hundred Spearmen of the Company of the *Grand Seneschal*. The *Breton* Prince was arrested in his Castle of *Quildo* near *Lambelle*, conducted to *Dinan*, and put in the Duke's Prison.



I have drawn this Fact from the Chronicle of *Arthur of Bretagne*, Constable of *France*, \* compos'd by a Contemporary Author, and imprinted at the Expence of *Theodore Godfrey*. I will not dwell upon the Consequences, as not regarding my Subject; it is sufficient, that the Duke of *Bretagne*, tho'a Sovereign in his own Country, came to demand Justice of the King against his Brother, and his Vassal; that the King, by his Sovereign Authority, sent one of his Officers to arrest the Prince, and imprison'd him; without any Complaint from the *Bretons*, about this Act of Authority, as an Encroachment upon the pretended Liberties of the Country: a new Proof of the Extent of the Sovereignty of our Kings. And I doubt, whether F. *Lobineau* can alledge so great a Number of Arguments, so different, so conclusive, of the Vassalage of the Dukes of *Burgundy*, of *Normandy*, and the other Peers, and Great Vassals of the Crown of *France*.

We cannot quit the Reign of *Francis I*, without a Mention of what happen'd in *Bretagne*, upon the Surprize of the Town of *Fougeres* by the *English*.

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\* Ed. 1622.

The Plenipotentiaries of *France* and *England* met in the Year 1444, in a Truce between the two Crowns, that was to last Twenty two Months. The King had included the Duke of *Bretagne* in the Treaty as his Subject; and the *English* claim'd him as their Vassal: a fresh Evidence, that *John* of *Montfort* had paid them Homage. Duke *Francis* refus'd to own them for his Sovereigns.

The *English*, to revenge his Attachment to the Interests of *France*, surpriz'd the Town of *Fougeres*, during the Truce. The Duke of *Bretagne*, says *John Chartier*, remonstrated to the King, that under Pretext of the Truce, in which he was compriz'd, the *English* fraudulently seiz'd the Town and Castle of *Fougeres*; and requested, that, as his Subject, he would assist him, in declaring War against the *English*, the Violaters of the Truce; that, for his Part, he was ready to join with him. The King answer'd, that he would not give him up, but make his Cause his own, as it was Reasonable.

This Enterprize kindled a War, that lost the *English* all the Provinces they possess'd in *France*. This Affair was put into Negotiation, as we are inform'd by a Memoir address'd to *Lewis XI*, Son  
 XI. of

of *Charles VII*, which *M. de Leibnitz* has inserted in his \* Collection. Since the *English* maintain, that the Duke of *Bretagne* was their Vassal, we will report a part of it, to view the Sentiments of the *French* of that Age, about the Origin, and Vassalage of the *Bretons*.

*A Discussion of the Differences between the Kings of France and England.*

*To the High, Renown'd, and Mighty Prince, Lewis, of that Name the Eleventh, Most Christian King of France.*

THE Duke of *Somerset* (says the Author) willing to justify the Enterprize of the *English* upon *Fougeres*, belonging to the Duke of *Bretagne*, sent to King *Charles VII*. *M. John Hannefort*, an *English* Knight, and *M. John Lenfant*, for his Council, to excuse the Seizure of it.

It was shewn them from all Antiquity, ever since the Time of King *Clotharius*, the first Son of *Clois*, to this Day, that

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\* *Manuscripta Codicis juris Gentium Diplomatici*. p. 63.



this Dutchy was subject to the Kings of *France*: and that St. *Judicael*, King of *Bretagne*, for his Disobedience to the Commissaries of King *Dagobert*, ask'd Pardon for his Offence, and own'd the King of *France* his Sovereign for ever.

This was told the *English*, to convince them, that they could not comprehend the Duke of *Bretagne* in the Truce between the Kings of *France* and *England*, since he was a Vassal of the Crown, much less make War against him.

Besides, it was true, that the said Duke *Francis* acknowledg'd King *Charles* his Sovereign, as to all that had been done with the *English*, by his deceas'd Father, or *Giles* of *Bretagne*, or his other Subjects, in his Prejudice; and in bar of any Demand for the future, took an Indemnity of the King, as his Sovereign, for all they had acted: a manifest Demonstration, they thought they were Subjects of *France*, and not of *England*.

This Writing shews, they were persuaded in the Time of *Lewis XI*, of this Ancient Recognisance; which two Chiefs of the *Bretons* had made in the Reign of *Gontran*; that the Towns of *Bretagne* belong'd to the Sons of *Clotharius*; and that the *Bretons* were their Subjects: And this very Memoir, and the Pretensions

sions of the *English* prove, against the Groundless Reasonings of F. *Lobineau*, what *Froissard* has reported of the Homage of *Bretagne* once paid to *England*, in prejudice to the Sovereignty of *France*.

I will not repeat what I have said about the Letters of Indemnity demanded of King *Charles* by Duke *Francis*, here mention'd; but only remark, that there cannot be a more Incontestable Proof of the Sovereignty of our Kings, since this same Duke of *Burgundy* solicited for it. And why did he desire it? Lest the Duke and his Subjects, for their Contempt and Forfeiture, should suffer in their Estates. Both the King and the Duke were persuaded that his Felony imply'd a Confiscation of his Lands. He did not think, like our Author, that our Kings could not re-unite *Bretagne* to our Crown for Rebellion. And what ill fate was it for the Duke of *Bretagne*, to want so Enlighten'd a Minister as our Historian? It had spar'd him those Mortifying Paces, to obtain this Amnesty, which otherwise left a Blemish upon his Memory.

*Pierre* II, his Brother, succeeded him; this Prince paid Homage to the King; They made him quit his Sword: which

the King did not suffer to be done to his Predecessor : and he paid his Homage, says Father *Lobineau*, with the Ordinary Difficulties : which consisted in this, that the Chancellor of *France* pretended, this was Liege-Homage ; whereas the Duke of *Bretagne* maintain'd, that he ow'd only a simple Homage ; that is, only for his Lands ; but the Homage-Liege extended to the Use and Employ of the Person, both within the Realm, and without it, against, or for all Men. The Manner of both was different : In the Simple, or Frank Homage, the Vassal uncovers his Head, and joyning his Hands between those of his Lord, kisses his Cheek ; sometimes with one Knee upon the Ground, and sometimes standing ; but the Vassal Liege was always upon his Knees ; with his Head uncover'd, without Sword, Girdle, or Spurs. *Arthur* the first Duke of *Bretagne*, *Pierre Mauclerc*, *John the Ruddy*, his Sons, all render'd a Liege-Homage to our Kings. We have yet the Records of it, and we may see the Copies of them in the *Treasure of the Fief*. *John of Montfort*, fourth of the Name, call'd *the Valiant*, was the first that refus'd to own himself Liege-Vassal of the Crown : for fear of being oblig'd to serve the King against the  
*English,*



*English*, with whom he always entertain'd a secret Intelligence. He had likewise drawn a Promise from the Principal Lords of the Province, upon Oath, says F. *Lobineau*, by which they engag'd to aid the Duke against all that might live or dye, if the King would not give a Seal'd Act to the Duke, to declare, that he would not oblige him to take Arms against the King of *England*.

*France*, who was busy in disengaging her self from the Power of the *English* who had possess'd so long a Time our Finest Provinces, and even the Capital of the Realm, durst not press the Duke of *Bretagne*, lest he should carry his Homage to the King of *England*, as his Father had done, and open his Ports to them, for an Entrance into the Realm; in so delicate a Conjunction, they had recourse to this Expedient, which was to receive his Homage, such as it ought to be, according to Right, and Antient Usage, without explaining himself more openly, says F. *Lobineau*, whether he were a Liege-man, or no. Most Excellent, Noble, and Puissant Princes, says the Bishop of *St. Brieuc*, addressing himself to the King; See the Duke of *Bretagne*, who doth Homage to you for the Dutchy of *Bretagne*, and the

Peerage of *France*, as his Sovereign Lord, and such as his Predecessors made to the Kings before You, in offering his Mouth, and Hands. The King took the Hands of the Duke between his own, rais'd him up, and said, We receive this Homage, saving our Right and others; and then kiss'd him. F. *Lobineau* agrees, that the King entering after this Ceremony into a Chamber, the Chancellor of *France* said to the Duke, that the Intention of the King in receiving his Homage, as his Predecessors had paid it to the Kings of *France*, was, because it was Liege-Homage; and to prove it, he produc'd the Acts of the Homages of *Arthur I.* and of *John I.* Demanding a Permission to read them, the Bishop of *St. Brieuc*, who perform'd the Function of the Chancellor of *Bretagne*, agreed, on condition, that it should not prejudice the Duke. After the Reading, they gave them to be examin'd by the Chancellor, to review the Hands and Seals: after which, he answer'd, Who puts a Bar to this? You have what you search'd for: meaning, that the Titles determin'd the Nature of his Master's Homage; and since the Dukes *Arthur* and *John* had render'd it as Liege, it ought to be so in the Case of *John VI. Pierre*, Duke of *Bretagne*,

*tagne*, paid it without his Sword: which was one Mark, tho' the Ceremony vary'd on different Occasions. But since this was but a simple Homage, it would suffice to prove against F. *Lobineau*, that the *Bretons* held their Lands in Fief, and by the Grant of our Kings; and that, by Consequence, these Princes had a Right at that Time to re-unite them to the Crown, in the Case of Felony, and the Forfeiture of Vassals.

King *Charles VII.* was of this Persuasion. We find in the Manuscript of the King's Library his Instructions for an Envoy to the Duke of *Bretagne*, in which he mentions it: It imports, " That the  
 " King does not doubt, but that as his  
 " Nephew, and one educated in the Royal  
 " Palace, by which means he could not  
 " be ignorant of the Rights of the  
 " Crown, and is a Liege-Man of the  
 " King on account of his Dutchy, and as  
 " one that has sworn to guard the Rights  
 " and Preeminences of the Crown, he  
 " will not Enterprize any thing against  
 " the King, by himself or others; but in  
 " case of a failure, to repair it; and that  
 " the King perfectly confides in him, as  
 " to all that may touch the Rights of the  
 " Crown, that he will preserve them with  
 " a Care equal to his own.

Duke



Duke *Pierre*, (says *F. Lobineau*,) made an Enquiry into the Nature of these Rights by an Abbot of *St. Melaine*, and *John Loaisel*, President. These two Commissaries, says our Author, were assur'd by some Gentlemen, that *Bretagne* had been a flourishing Kingdom; that it was not a Member of another State, or separated by Appanage; that the Sovereigns of it did no Homage, till a certain Count who first paid it to the King of *France*; in fine, that the Duke was the Founder of all the Churches, and had a Royal Power over all the Benefices.

Hence it is, from this Invisible Piece, and Enquiry, that *F. Lobineau* has drawn his System of the Independence of *Bretagne*. *Bretagne*, says he, is no Appanage, no Division from the Crown, or Grant made by the Kings of *France*. If it was a Fief, it was of a Particular Nature, not parted from the Crown, like others. Assertions so bold and extraordinary require, methinks, the Author to print this Enquiry, as a Guard to his Principles. But tho' he has not judg'd it proper to communicate it to the Public, we will make a few slight Observations upon it.

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The Deposers of this Enquiry are mark'd out only by the Name of some Gentlemen, without a particular Mention of any. They liv'd in the midst of the fifth Century; and they depose about the pretended Royalty of *Riwal*, and his Successors, which is suppos'd to be in the fifth Age: that is, we are to receive their Testimony for an Event that happen'd near a thousand Years before they were born.

These authentic Evidences would not speak of King *Solomon*, who made War, as *John of Montfort* pretends, against *Charles the Great*. I do not speak of King *Cobel*, King *Conabli*, and King *Arbaras*; all own'd by the same *Montfort* for antient Kings of the *Bretons*, and all as fabulous as *Conan Meriadec*, and *Riwal*. These great Princes, whose mighty Exploits are defac'd by the Injury of Time, enjoy'd, by this Enquiry, a perfect Independence, till a certain Count did Homage to the King of *France*.

This is the pretended Epocha of the Vassalage of the *Bretons*; But this Count is not mention'd. Has not *F. Lobineau* again adopted the same Fact, by telling us, *p. 22.* of his History, that *Childebert*, the Son of *Clovis*, did not acquire a Sovereignty over one Part of the Nation  
(the

(the *Bretons*) but by the voluntary Submission of an Usurper? Such is the Origin that he gives to it. But how could he hear, of these pretended Enquirers, that the Dukes of *Bretagne* were the Founders of all the Churches of the Province? Could not he at least, in reporting the Extract of a Piece so fabulous, add some Corrective to it? And could He forget what he own'd, in the ninth and tenth Pages of his History, that King *Childebert* gave his Consent to the Founding of the two Bishopricks of *Treguier* and *Leon*? And do not the Authors, from whom he draws these Facts, report, that this Prince endowed the Bishoprick of *Leon*, and annex'd to it considerable Revenues; at least if we will believe the same Legendary *Bretons* cited by our Historian?

He must either give up his own Quotations, or remember that he finds a thousand incontestable Proofs of the Sovereignty of our Kings over *Bretagne*. We advance here another, in order of Time, that merits well the Attention of the Reader.

We have seen in the *Treatise of the Fief*, and in this last Work, that King *Charles the Simple* gave the direct Seignury of *Bretagne* to the first Dukes of *Normandy*:



*Normandy*: We have shewn, that *Philip the August* re-united it to the Crown, in re-uniting the Province of *Normandy* to it. We added, that *Charles of France*, Duke of *Berry*, only Brother of King *Lewis XI*, the Count of *Charolois*, Son of *Philip the Good*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and *Francis II*, Duke of *Bretagne*, Successor of Duke *Pierre*, and some other Princes and Lords of *France*, Heads of a League, call'd, For the public Good, having taken Arms to procure the Duke of *Berry* an Appanage, suitable to his Birth: The Peace was made, says *Monstrelet*, on Condition, that the Duke of *Berry*, only Brother of the King, for his Division of the Realm of *France*, should have the Dutchy of *Normandy* in Appanage to himself, and the Heirs Male of his Body, to hold in such Franchise and Liberty, as the Dukes of *Normandy* had antiently held them of the King, that is, in Fealty and Homage: And that the Dukes of *Bretagne* and *Alençon* should hold their Dutchies of the Duke of *Normandy*, as they did antiently.

This Treaty was the Act of the Duke of *Bretagne*; is it possible, that this Prince had pass'd over this Article, if it had not been founded upon right and immemorial Possession? So far from opposing  
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this Stipulation, that we are told by *Philip de Comines*, a contemporary Historian, that the Duke of *Bretagne* would accompany the Duke of *Berry*, when he went to take Possession of *Normandy*, following the old Practice of Vassals, at the Entry of their Lord.

*F. Lobineau*, who knew well the Use of this Fact to clear the Sovereignty of our Kings, and of the Dukes of *Normandy*, lays a bold Charge upon *Monstrelet*:  
 “ That he bely’d himself in the Treaty  
 “ of *Conflans*, of *October 5*, 1465, where  
 “ he made no Mention of this imaginary  
 “ Dependence of *Bretagne*; a good  
 “ Reason for me to be silent about it.”

And how could this Author say, it was stipulated in the Treaty of *Conflans* that the King should give *Normandy* to his Brother the Duke of *Berry*, since we see in the same Treaty, that Prince already bore that Title? Since it was an Affair perfected by a former Treaty, and that of *Conflans* only regarded the House of *Burgundy*, without mentioning the Interests of the Duke of *Berry*, or those of the Dukes of *Calabria* and *Lorraine*, of *Bourbonnois*, of *Nemours*, of the Counts of *Marche*, *D’Armagnac*, *Luxembourg*, *St. Paul*, *D’Albret*, *Dunois*, nor in fine,  
 any

any of the Chiefs or Partisans of the League.

The Duke of *Berry* being at the Head of so powerful a Party; *Louis XI*, who rather was inclin'd to disembarrafs himself from his Enemies by Treaty than Force of Arms, resolv'd by the Counsel of the Duke of *Milan*, his particular Friend, to grant all the Demands of the Heads of the League, to disunite them. In this Conjunction, the Duke of *Bourbon* surpriz'd the Town of *Rouen*, and made himself Master of it; and upon this, says *Philip de Comines*, the Lords answer'd the King, that *Charles* his Brother, who before was contented with *Champaigne* and *Brie*, had no other Appanage, than the Dutchy of *Normandy*; which therefore, on this Constraint, he granted him, and resum'd to himself the Dutchy of *Berry*.

These are three different Treaties in this Affair: By the First, upon the Surprize of *Rouen*, the King gave *Normandy* to the Prince his Brother, with his Rights over *Bretagne*, as we learn from *Monstrelet*.

By the second Treaty, call'd that of *Conflans*, and made, says the King, by the Advice and Deliberation of his Brother of *Normandy*, he gave to the Count  
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of Charolois the Towns of *Amiens*, *St. Quentin*, *Corbie*, *Abbeville*, the County of *Ponthieu*, &c. They did not stipulate in this, that the Duke of *Berry* should have the Dutchy of *Normandy*, because he already had the Possession, and it was in that Quality that he was summon'd. In fine, by the third Treaty, *Octob. 29*, in the same Year, twenty-four Days after that of *Conflans*, they gave certain Lands to the Count of *Dunois*. The Dukes of *Calabria* and *Bourbon*, said *Philip de Comines*, had a Payment of Money. Restitution was made to the Count of *Dammartin* of his Estate, and the Constable's Sword was given to the Count of *St. Paul*.

Shall we charge these Dispositions with Falshood, because they are not mention'd in the Treaty of *Conflans*? And shall we be reduc'd, in Complaisance to *F. Lobineau*, to reject as fabulous all the Facts that do not occur in this particular Act, tho' they be attested by other Treaties, or by Historians that are contemporary and irreproachable? An absolute Negative is the favourite Proof of *F. Lobineau*; If we speak of the Homage paid to the King of *England* by *John of Montfort*, the Act of this Homage, according to him, is a chimerical Piece, without Existence:

stence: Since, says he, it is not to be found in the Tower of *London*. Do not ask him for a Certificate of what he advances: It is enough, that by one Negative he eludes the Passage of *Froissard*. By ill Luck, his Testimony has the Act in Question, which was printed some Years after. Thus he treats *Monstrelet* as a Visionary, because we do not find in a subsequent Treaty, that concerns only the House of *Burgundy*, the Facts and Agreements made with the Duke of *Berry*, of which the Treaty of *Conflans* affords the Proofs.

So that it still remains fix'd and steady, notwithstanding all the Illusions of *F. Lobineau*, that the King of *France* dispos'd a second time the Sovereignty of *Bretagne*, in Favour of a Duke of *Normandy*, in Presence of the Duke of *Bretagne* himself, and without Opposition from him. Add, that this same Duke, which was *Francis II*, having only two Daughters, King *Charles VIII*, who pretended a Default of Heirs Male to re-unite this great Fief to the Crown, treated with the principal Lords of *Bretagne*, for a Confirmation of their Privileges. This Treaty is found in the Observations of *M. Godfrey*, upon the Life of *Charles VIII*, in these Words.

“ *Charles*, by the Grace of God, King  
 “ of *France* ; As at our Coronation, ac-  
 “ cording to the laudable Customs and  
 “ ancient Observations of our Predeces-  
 “ sors, the Kings of *France*, we have so-  
 “ lemnly promis’d and sworn to main-  
 “ tain the Authority and Pre-eminence  
 “ of the Crown, and the Rights of that  
 “ and of our Kingdom, not to alienate  
 “ or diminish, but augment them by all  
 “ lawful and convenient Methods; and  
 “ whereas, after the Decease of our well-  
 “ beloved Cousin the Duke of *Bretagne*,  
 “ that Dutchy belongs to us by a just Ti-  
 “ tle, as we can on Occasion make ap-  
 “ pear, that we may, if it happens, which  
 “ God forbid, take our rightful Posses-  
 “ sion more peaceably, and agreeably to  
 “ the Inhabitants, without War or Af-  
 “ fray, which we will not permit, but as  
 “ far as in us lies, will obviate ; On these  
 “ Considerations, we confiding in the  
 “ good Sense, Loyalty, and Conduct of  
 “ our dear Cousins, *Jean du Perrier*,  
 “ Lord of *Sourdiac*, *Pierre de Ville*  
 “ *Blanche*, Lord of *Brone*, *John le Bou-*  
 “ *teiller*, Knight, Lord of *Monpertuis*, to-  
 “ wards us and the Interest of our  
 “ Realm; for this Cause, &c.”

In Consequence of this Act, these *Bre-*  
*ton* Lords pass’d another at *Nantes*, to  
 recog-



recognize the Succession of the King to this Dutchy, after the Death of the Duke without Heirs Male. “ And this, (say  
 “ these Lords) by good and just Title,  
 “ and evident Right: Knowing well,  
 “ that under the Guard and natural Seignury of the King, to whom it belongs, the Lords, and Inhabitants of it  
 “ will be better treated and govern’d;  
 “ we swear and promise, by our corporal Oath, all Loyalty, Obedience, and  
 “ Service to our Sovereign Lord the  
 “ King, in our Bodies, Fortunes, Power, Allies, Friends, and Subjects; and  
 “ to own him as the true Duke and Lord  
 “ of *Bretagne*, after the Decease of the  
 “ present Duke; in Default of Heirs  
 “ Male descending from him; and as  
 “ such we will hold, account, and obey  
 “ him, as good and loyal Subjects are  
 “ bound to their natural and sovereign  
 “ Lord, without speaking or acting the  
 “ contrary, &c.” \*

This Act was sign’d by these Lords, as well for themselves, as in the Name of others, says F. *Lobineau*, that were Malecontents to the Government. The Duke, appriz’d of this Treaty, assembled the

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\* At Nantes. Octob. 28. 1484.

States of his Province, to secure the Dutchy to the two Princesses, his Daughters. The three Estates solemnly recogniz'd them, as their Heiresses; in the first Place, the Princess *Anne*, and in the second the Princess *Isabella*.

The Duke, to fortify himself against the Pretensions of *France*, fomented several Divisions at Court, and made his Country a Retreat to the disaffected. The Duke of *Orleans*, presumptive Heir of the Crown, jealous of the Authority of *Madam de Beaujou*, who govern'd the King in an absolute Manner, having refus'd in *Bretagne*, his Retreat was follow'd by an open War, the Detail of which is foreign to my Subject; I shall content my self with remarking, that the King, displeas'd with these Measures, summon'd the Dukes of *Bretagne* and *Orleans* to the Court of Peers. *M. Godfrey* has preserv'd this Summon to us, in his Observations upon the Life of *Charles VIII*, and perhaps the Reader will not be disinclin'd to view it here, and find in it a new Proof of our Sovereignty over *Bretagne*.

“ *Charles*, by the Grace of God, King  
 “ of *France*, to our beloved Brother and  
 “ Cousin, the Count *de Clermont* and *de*  
 “ *la Marche*, Health and Love: Since  
 “ by reason of the Crimes of Disobedi-  
 “ ence,

“ence, open War, Rebellion, and Trea-  
“son, wherewith our Brothers and  
“Cousins, *Loys*, Duke of *Orleans*, and  
“*Francis*, Duke of *Bretagne*, Peers of  
“*France*, are charg’d, as well by Infor-  
“mation, as notorious Evidence of Fact,  
“We, by great Advice and mature De-  
“liberation, have order’d our Letters  
“Patents of Citation to summon the  
“above-mention’d *Loys*, &c. to appear  
“personally before us, or our Deputies,  
“in the Parliament of Peers, on Pain of  
“Attainder and Conviction by a certain  
“Day, on which they and their Depen-  
“dents have been duly summon’d, at  
“the Request of our Procurator-Gener-  
“al, in our Court aforesaid; We have is-  
“su’d our Writ of Non-appearance against  
“them, and every of them, and our Pro-  
“curator has lodg’d in our Court his  
“Action upon it; on which we have or-  
“dain’d, that they shall be summon’d to  
“appear in Answer to his Demands, on  
“the 14th of *April* next ensuing; so that  
“you, our Peers now present, must be  
“then personally in our Court, to coun-  
“sel and assist us, as you are oblig’d by  
“your Dignity: Therefore, we cite you  
“to appear before us or our Commissa-  
“ries, on the Day and Place aforesaid,  
“to assist, as you ought, and as is ac-  
“custom’d



“ custom'd to be done in the like Cases.  
 “ Given at *Paris*, in our Parliament of  
 “ Peers, *Jan. 22, 1487.* \* Sign'd, the King,  
 “ and *P. de Cerisay.*”

A Treaty made after with the Duke of *Bretagne*, and the Death of the Prince, that happen'd sometime afterwards, put a Stop to these Proceedings. The King, having receiv'd this Intelligence, signify'd to the young Princesses, that the Guardianship of their State belong'd to him; and that he did not judge it proper for them to assume the Quality of Dutcheffes of *Bretagne*, till competent Judges should decide the Right of the Dutchy between them.

I shall not relate the Wars that arose from these Contests: The Princess *Anne*, remaining sole Heiress of Duke *Francis*, by the Death of *Isabella* her Sister, put at last a happy Period to all these Differences by her Marriage with King *Charles VIII.* This Princess brought the King all the Rights of the House of *Montfort* by an uninterrupted Succession of six Dukes; and her own Right again was fortify'd by the Renunciations of those of the Branch of *Penthievre*, and all the

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\* *Observ. de M. Godf. p. 574.*

Heirs of *Charles de Blois*, by the Treaties of *Guerand* and *Nantes*. It is true, that the Mareschal of *Boufjac*, and *Nicole* of *Bretagne*, his Wife, took out Letters of Restitution against these Treaties, but they transferr'd all their Pretensions to King *Lewis XI*; so far, that King *Charles VIII*, his Son, besides his Right of Sovereignty over *Bretagne*, re-united again in his Person that of *Nicole* of *Bretagne*, descended of the *Penthièvre's*, and had no Right but what was re-united in their Persons, as well by lawful Succession, as by different Surrendries made in their Favour.

These two in Marriage made a mutual Donation to one another, while alive, and a reciprocal Cession of their Rights over *Bretagne*, in Favour of the Survivor; in case, says the Contract, they had no Heirs lawfully born of them: But one Condition was added, regarding the Queen, that if she surviv'd the King, she should not marry again, but to his Successor. "The Lady above-mention'd  
 " shall marry none but the future King,  
 " or the nearest presumptive Successor  
 " to the Crown; who, in this Case, shall  
 " give to the King all feudal Acknow-  
 " ledgments of Honour and Profit, for  
 I 4 " the

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“ the said Dutchy, County, and their  
 “ Appurtenances, and not alienate them  
 “ but into the Hands of the said Lord,  
 “ and his Successors, Kings of *France*.”

It is plain, that these Precautions were taken to unite *Bretagne* indissolubly to the Crown of *France*. The Queen here does not take the Title of Dutcheſs of *Bretagne*, but ſimply that of Daughter and Heireſs to the Duke of *Bretagne*. She yields all her Rights to the King. The King on his Side in Appearance makes the like Donation; but then it is ſtipulated, that ſhe ſhall only marry his Succeſſor, or the Heir preſumptive; which was form'd to attach both her and the Dutchy more cloſely to the Crown. And this makes the Copy of a Marriage-Contract between *Lewis XII*, and this Princeſs, Widow of *Charles VIII*, ſo liable to Suſpicion, as Terms oppoſite to theſe are found in it. For in this, the Original of which we have not ſeen, the Widow-Queen does not uſe that *Auguſt* Title, but only that of Dame *Anne*, true Dutcheſs of *Bretagne*. This affected Title would make us think it was forg'd by ſome *Breton*, uneaſy at the Claim of our Kings. Beſides, it is here ſettled, that the ſecond Son or Daughter by this Marriage, ſhould be Prince of the Country,

to



to possess it under the King, like his Predecessors; which is not in the first Contract of *Charles VIII*, and is against the Intention of it.

We see likewise in the Sequel, that they kept only to the first Contract. For Queen *Anne* of *Bretagne*, having only two Daughters, by her Marriage with *Lewis XII*. He espous'd the Eldest, *Claude* of *France*, to *Francis* Duke of *Valois*, presumptive Heir of the Crown. He gave up to the young Prince, the Dutchy of *Bretagne*, in Prejudice of *Renée* of *France*, his second Daughter; who, according to the Dispositions of this pretended Contract, ought to have had this Principality in Appanage.

The Duke of *Valois* being come to the Crown, under the Name of *Francis I*, yielded up this Dutchy, at his Return, to *Francis*, his Eldest Son, and Heir Presumptive; tho' he had then actually two other Male-Children of the Queen, his Consort, Daughter of *Anne* of *Bretagne*; which proves that he had the Spirit and the Views of *Charles VIII*, whose single Aim in the Marriage was the Re-union of *Bretagne* to the Crown; and tho' this was thought to be Executed by the Marriages of the Vassal Princesses with the Princes, who were Lords  
of

of *Bretagne*, and especially by their Issue; yet the *Bretons* fearing to fall again into the Wars, in which they were often plung'd by their Dukes, demand'd of the King, that this tacit Re-union should be expressly declar'd by a Public and Authentick Act, Executed in the Assembly of the Estates of *Vannes*; and *Bretagne*, which in its Original was a Fief depending in Fealty and Homage upon the Crown of *France*, was re-united to its Head by a Solemn Act, at the Request of the three Orders of that Province.

By what is alledg'd, it is plain, that long after the *Bretons* came into *Armorica*, from the Year 458, and before the *French* had establish'd their Dominion there, this Colony of Fugitive Islanders was not received till after the Death of *Clovis*, and under the Reign of the Sons of that Great King. I have solidly prov'd, that Strangers incorporated into a Kingdom become its Subjects, and Tributaries; that they are punish'd as Rebels, when they fail in their Duties of Vassalage; that *Charlemagne* sent his Seneschal, or Master of the Palace, to *Bretagne*, because they had not paid the Ancient Tributes; and that far from regarding this Expedition, as a first Conquest, as F.

*Lobineau*

*Lobineau* pretends, we ought to consider it only as a Consequence of that Conduct, which was pursu'd by King *Pepin* his Father; in fetching back the *Bretons* to their Duty, that rebell'd against his Predecessors.

The Tributes paid by these People, the Levies of Men and Money rais'd in *Bretagne* for our Kings, all the Public Acts, dated from the Time of their Reign, the Coin regulated by their Edicts, the Particular Treaties made under their Authority, the Sovereign Jurisdiction of the Court of Peers and Parliament of *Paris*, the Solemn Judgments in the Cases of Succession, Felony, Pardon, and Amnesty, which the Dukes demanded with a Profound Submission, when they swerv'd from their Duty; this Train of Incontestable Facts, and all these Proofs drawn from our best Historians, and most of them Original, and Contemporary, shew us how rashly F. *Lobineau* has dar'd to advance, that *Bretagne* is not a Fief that was separated from the Crown, as others, and so our Kings could not reunite it for Rebellion, or the Felony of the Vassal.

This Proposition, dangerous by the Consequences that might be drawn from it, ceases to be so, by the Weakness of its



its Proofs; and it is less formidable, if we reflect, that all the System of F. *Lo-bineau* upon the Entry of the *Bretons* amongst the *Gauls*, turns upon Legend and Fable; and if you take away his Assistance from the Lives of the Saints of *Bretagne*, St. *Guinolé*, St. *Josse*, St. *Brieuc*, St. *Samson*, St. *Paul*, St. *Tugval*, St. *Melaine*, and above all, St. *Salomon*, his History and Answer will equally fall: Let the Reader judge the Solidity of this Foundation, and what Confidence an Author merits, that is warranted only by Writers so much decry'd, and most of them Modern, for the Time in which they wrote.

I thought here to have finish'd this Work; but I must answer the Objections us'd by the same Author against the Seignury of the Dukes of *Normandy*, and against the *Treatise of the Fief of Bretagne*. This we shall undertake in the Book following.



THE



A CRITICAL  
HISTORY  
OF THE

*Establishment of the BRETONS  
among the GAULS; and of their  
Dependence upon the Kings of  
France, and the Dukes of Nor-  
mandy.*

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BOOK V.

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F all the Revolutions that hap-  
pen'd in the *French* Monar-  
chy for these Thirteen Hun-  
dred Years, since it has sub-  
sisted, there is none more sur-  
prizing, than that High Degree of Power,  
to which it was carry'd by *Charlemagne*,  
and

and the Decay it fell to, in a small time, under his Successors. This Prince, becoming sole Master of the *Gauls* by the Death of King *Carleman* his Brother, subdu'd all the vast Regions between the *Rhine*, and the *Vistula*; the *Baltic* Sea, and the *Danube*. He after extended his Dominion over *Austria*, *Hungary*, as far as the *Teyse*, *Dacia*, *Croatia*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Istria*, *Friuli*, and *Dalmatia*. Some pretend that he push'd his Conquests towards the East, to the Confines of *Bulgaria* and *Thrace*. The *Ebro* on the West, and the *Po* and *Tiber* on the South, own'd his Empire, which he carry'd into *Italy*, as far as the lower *Calabria*.

In this Height of Power, sustain'd by equal Wisdom and Valour, all the Sovereigns of the Earth rever'd his Grandeur, or dreaded his Force. Only One *Barbarian* of the North declar'd War against him; *Godfrey*, King of *Denmark*, a Pagan Prince, Courageous, a Great Captain, equally jealous of the Conquests of *Charlemagne*, and the Progress that Christianity made in *Germany* by the support of his Arms. The *Dane*, who pretended to be Sovereign, or at least an Ally of the *Saxons*, whom *Charlemagne* had subdu'd, complain'd, that he  
had



had forc'd them by the Fear of Punishment to change their Religion. He gave a Retreat in his Kingdom to their Priests, and to the most Bigotted of their Nation; the *Saxons* found a People there as fierce as themselves, and as much attach'd to the Worship of Idols. *Godfrey* took a Number of both into his Soldiery; all animated with the same Fury, burning with a Cruel Desire of Christian Blood, and of revenging their false Gods \*.

The King of *Denmark* at their Head, pierc'd into the *French* Dominions. The Historians of that Nation pretend, that he came to a Battle with the Troops of *Charlemagne*, and gain'd the Advantage. At the same time he put to Sea a puissant Navy, that conquer'd all *Friezland*. The *Barbarians* after made a Descent along the Coast of *France*, and under the Name of *Normans*, or *Northern* People, made themselves equally terrible upon the Ocean, and in the *Mediterranean*. All the Power of *Charlemagne* was not capable of repressing them; and we learn from the Monk of *St. Gal*, that viewing their Fleet on the Coast one Day from his Windows, he cry'd out with Indig-

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\* Quum enim Rengotfridus in ditione sua teneret Saxones, &c. Albert. Krantzynortv. l. 1. p. 352.

nation, What do I see? Does *France*, added he with a kind of Prefage, begin to decline? What Ravages and Calamities will these *Barbarians* make her suffer!

This Prediction was very true. The *Normans* relish'd so well the Sweetness of the Climate, and the Riches of *France*, that they return'd to their Country only for new Levies: and they were often seen upon our Coasts, and in the Mouth of our Principal Rivers, with mighty Fleets, that carry'd Terror and Desolation into all the Provinces of the Kingdom. Their frequent Incurfions had a great Share in the Decay of the Empire of *Charlemagne*. The Division that *Lewis* the *Debonair* made of it in favour of his Children, and the Civil Wars that follow'd, did not contribute less to its Ruin. *Neustria*, or *Western France*, fell to *Charles the Bald*. *Lewis the Stammerer* succeeded him, who left the Kingdom so much Enfeebled, and the Royal Authority so diminish'd, that an Hundred Years after *Charlemagne*, the Domain of *Charles the Simple*, Son of that *Lewis*, hardly extended beyond the Town of *Laon*, and its Dependences.

This

This was an Effect of the Weakness of the Government, during which the Dutchies and Counties, that were only simple Commissions and Revocable Lordships, were turn'd into Successive and Hereditary Principalities. This gave Rise to the Dukes of *France*, the Counts of *Paris*, the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Aquitain*, *Lorraine*; the Counts of *Flanders*, *Tholouse*, *Vermandois*, and so many other Lords, most of them more powerful than their Sovereign; who often did not submit to his Orders, further than they were conformable to their Interests. In fine, these Pirates of the North appear'd at the same time with the greatest Forces, attack'd the Monarchy at different Places, and endeavour'd to ruin this Great Body; of which they took for their Part considerable Morfels. Tho' Historians have indifferently given the Name of *Normans* to all the Northern People infesting the Coast of *France*, extending from *Norway* to the *Elbe* and the *Baltic*, yet they chiefly came from *Jutland*, the original Country of the *Cimbrians*, over whom *Marius* triumph'd by his Valour and the Fortune of the *Romans*. It is pretended, that these Cold Regions were become so fruitful in Men, especially since the Mixture of the *Saxons*, that they

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could not maintain the Inhabitants ; so that the Laws oblig'd a Part of the Youth to seek an Establishment in foreign Countries.

These Colonies of Adventurers, young, cruel, fierce, greedy of Spoil, laid the Provinces, where they came, in Desolation. Sometimes, like Torrents, they dispers'd themselves by the Resistance they met with ; or else settled, where they found they were most powerful. The *French* Monarchy, so flourishing under the Reign of *Charlemagne*, became the Prey of these Barbarians. *Rouën, Bourdeaux, Toulouse, Bourges, Orleans, Tours, Angers, Nantes*, and an infinite Number of Towns, experienc'd their Fury. *Paris* itself sustained four Sieges, nor could relieve itself of these Enemies, but by immense Sums of Money.

They often return'd under new Leaders, and with new Forces ; and one of their Commanders, under the Reign of *Charles the Simple*, tore a great Province from *France*. *Rollo*, their most renown'd Captain, from a Pirate upon the Western Seas, insensibly became a Conqueror ; his Youth, Courage, and Fortune made him the Terror of *France*. Forc'd by Wars and Disgraces at home, he banish'd himself from his Country ;

and

and from the Banks of the *Eyder*, where he had a considerable Establishment, he retir'd with fix Vessels into *Scandinavia*. He was join'd by a large Body of Ships and Men: The People, among whom he refug'd, were his Subjects; and spoke with Admiration of his Valour: His Heart was greater than his Birth: He was of a good Make and Mein; had an Air of Command, and a Strength of Body; a bold Fierceness, and a Thirst of Gold and of Blood, made him after venerable to these Barbarians; among whom the Art of being Formidable held the Place of all Virtues.\*

Most of them attach'd themselves to his Fortune: He form'd a potent Army, and a numerous Fleet; ravag'd the Coasts of *England* and *Friezeland*; and after many Engagements, in which he was victorious, he enter'd *France* by the Mouth of the *Seine*. *Rouen*, that was defenceless, and had prov'd the Fury of these Barbarians, open'd her Gates to him. *Rollo*, in a View of fixing there, fortify'd the Place, and put a strong Garrison in it. Then he gain'd the Bridge of the

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\* *Rollo superbo Regum Ducumque sanguine, &c. Dad. de Mor. & Act. Norm. l. 2. p. 71, &c.*

Arch, and the *Meulan*; and after having cut in Pieces a great Body of Troops that oppos'd his Conquests, he joyn'd the other *Normans* at the Siege of *Paris*. But that Siege drawing to a Length, he return'd to the Lower *Neustria*, and besieg'd *Bayeux*; where he found less Resistance. That City fell under the Effort of his Arms, and became the Prey of his Soldiers. He had for his Share of the Spoil a young Lady of uncommon Beauty; as all the Princesses are in our antient Chronicles.

This Princess, call'd *Popa*, was the Daughter of *Berenger*, Count of *Bessin*. *Rollo* made her his Wife, or more properly his Mistress. One of our ancient Historians says, that he espous'd her in the Manner of the *Danes*, an idolatrous People, that had a Number of Wives. This Prince, at his Return, took and pillag'd *Lizieux*, *Evrieux*, and the Country about them, and then went to the Siege of *Paris*. He made a Disposition for a fresh Attack upon it, but was call'd to *England* by King *Athelstan*, imploring his Aid against his Rebel Subjects, that aim'd at the Dethroning of him. *Rollo* came into this Island at the Head of his *Normans*. He stay'd there three Years, fought several Battles, reduc'd the Rebels, and



and with great Glory resum'd his first Design to conquer *France*.

He was powerfully assisted by the King of *England*. *Rollo*, on his Departure from that Island, saw himself at the Head of an Army, numerous enough to fill three Fleets with Land Forces.

The *Normans* in several Divisions enter'd the Kingdom at the same Time by the *Seine*, the *Loyre*, and the *Garonne*. *Neustria*, *Bretagne*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Beauce*, *Champagne*, *Burgundy*, *Lorraine*, and *Picardy*, became the Prey and the Conquest of these Barbarians. \* *Rollo* pursu'd the War, says one of our antient Historians, more like a Conqueror, than a Pirate; but in his Success he met with some Losses. His Troops were beaten at *Orleans*, and near the Abby of *Fleury*. He was oblig'd after to raise the Siege of *Chartres*: To revenge it, he began his Ravages anew with so great Fury, that they were reduc'd to ask a Peace of him.

*Charles the Simple* then reign'd in *France*; a Prince without Force and Authority: whose Subjects were rebellious Vassals, more powerful than himself. Most of them carry'd on the War

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\* Iterum post Annum unum quo, &c. Vet. Chron. Norm. Script. apud Chesh. p. 32. & 34.

without his Participation, or joyn'd against him. The Nobles follow'd the Standards of their Sovereign Lords; and in this Division, the People, harrafs'd equally by their Friends and Enemies, gave reason to fear a Submission to *Rollo*, to put an End to their Miseries.

The King, unable to resist the Conqueror, had recourse to Treaty. *Franco*, Archbishop of *Roüen*, was entrusted with it. \* They made a Truce for three Months. Scarce was it expir'd, when the *French* reviv'd their former Acts of Hostility. *Rollo* reveng'd this by cruel Ravages. To check his Fury, they were confin'd to renew the Negotiation. The Archbishop of *Roüen*, who was the Principal Minister in it, manag'd a second Truce, and an Interview between the King and the Chief of the *Normans*.

Both Parties went to *St. Clair*, a Village sixteen Leagues from *Paris*, upon the River *Epte*: the King, accompany'd by the Lords of his Court, was on the side towards *Paris*; and the *Norman*, with his Officers, on the side of *Roüen*. The Archbishop, as Mediator, transacted the Conference between them. The

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\* *Franco* verò his auditis, &c. *Dud.* t. 2. p. 79, 82, 83, &c.

Point was to stop the Progress of a potent and dreadful Enemy. They found but one Expedient to disarm him: to give him part of *Neustria*, from the River *Epte*, along the Sea, to the Frontiers of *Bretagne*; and the King's Daughter in Marriage, if he would embrace the Christian Religion \*.

The Idolatry of the *Normans* gave no great Difficulty: Many of them were already Christians: they advis'd *Rollo* to accept of these Offers. A Ducal Crown rais'd him above the Prejudices of his Religion: He consented to change it. But to improve upon the Necessity of *France*, he claim'd on his part a larger Country, under a pretence that the other was Desert and Uninhabited; and a Consignment of it to his Successors for ever; subscribed by the King, the Bishops, Lords, and Abbots of the whole Kingdom, and confirm'd by their most solemn Oaths.

*Rollo* us'd the Style of a Conqueror, that pretended to give Law to the Treaty. The King could not resolve to abandon for ever so Considerable a Part of the Realm. Many Counsels were

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\* Si Christianus efficeretur, &c. Gemet. l. 2. c. 17.



held about it; but unable to resist so terrible a Foe, he subscrib'd, tho' with regret, to his Overtures; he offer'd him the Succession for ever, with an Addition of all *Flanders*. This Province was subject to *Baldwinus Calvus*, Vassal of *France*, but odious to the King for the Murder of the Archbishop of *Rheims*, his First Minister. The King easily agreed to joyn the *Norman* with the *Fleming*, in hopes that the Stranger would revenge him upon his Vassal, and that an Inevitable War might ease him of one of them. Whatever were his Views, as History has left us in the Dark about them, and whether *Rollo* foresaw them, or thought the Country too remote, or full of Morasses, as he told the Archbishop of *Roën*, he rejected this Proposition, and demanded *Bretagne*, as the nearest to *Normandy*. This, we have seen, was always tributary to *France*; But since the Chiefs of that Province, since *Nominoë*, and the Reign of *Lewis the Debonair*, often took an advantage of the Civil Wars, and the Weakness of the Government, to break their Obedience, *Charles* was not averse to the granting of it; to be held as a part of *Neustria*, under the Sovereignty of the Crown.

The

The Peace was made at last upon these Conditions. *Rollo* pass'd the River to salute the King, follow'd by his Commanding Officers. All the World press'd to see a Prince, who for many Years had been the Terror of *France*. He paid his Thanks to the King, but discharg'd the Ceremonial of the Homage with some Difficulty.

This Great Affair was terminated towards the End of the Year 911; and the Treaty was sign'd by the King, the Bishops, and the Principal Lords of the Assembly. *Rollo*, after he was instructed, was baptiz'd in the beginning of the following Year, with the greatest Part of his Officers and Soldiers. The Endowments he bestow'd upon Churches, as a Reparation for the Disorders he had committed, were a Proof he was a sincere Convert. His Historian informs us, that when he parted from the Font, he ask'd the Archbishop, what were the most Celebrated Churches in his State. He answer'd; those of *Reuen*, *Evreux*, and *Bayeux*, sacred to the Blessed Virgin: that of St. *Michael* the *Archangel*, towards the Sea: that of St. *Owen*, Patron of *Roüen*, in her Suburbs; and of St. *Peter* at *Jumieges*, with many others of Inferior Note. And which, said *Rollo*,  
is

is the most distinguish'd in the adjacent Country? That of St. *Denis*, reply'd he, the *Gaulish* Apostle, who seal'd his Faith and Preaching with his Blood. *Rollo*, for seven Days after his Baptism, that he wore the white Habit, made daily Presents to each of these Churches; and the Abby of St. *Denis* is now in Possession of the Land of *Brenneval* in *Normandy*, from the Bounty of this religious Prince.

The Ceremony of his Baptism was follow'd by that of his Marriage with the Princess *Gisla*, Daughter of the King, given to him as the Seal of their Union.

*Rollo* apply'd himself to the Establishing of Peace and Prosperity in his new Sovereignty; and made very rigid Laws against Robbery. A Pirate and Leader of Thieves clear'd his State of them. His Severity, and Exactness in the Administration of Justice, made him so awful to his Subjects, that upon the bare Cry of his Name, they were forc'd to march upon the Plain before the Judges.

This Custom has pass'd into a Law, and is now so much regarded in this Province, that no Revolutions have been able to abolish it. This is what they call, *Clameur*



*meur de Haro*, as if they would say, a Recourse to *Rol*, or *Rollo*; (*à Rol*.)

This Prince afterwards apply'd his Thoughts to the Culture of the Ground: They now began to labour peaceably in all the parts of this Province. He drew his Stores of Corn and Food from *Bretagne*, where he establish'd his Authority by the Force of his Arms. *Alan Berenger*, Count of *Rennes*, and *Alan Dol*, two of the Greatest Lords in it, came to pay Homage to him; and he subdu'd the disobedient by Military Power. It would appear, by the Language of the First Historian, that *Bretagne* was allow'd him for Temporary Provision, till *Normandy* was repeopled and cultivated. But the Monk of *Fleury* tells us in his Chronicle, that *Charles* gave all *Bretagne* to *Rollo*, as he possess'd it, to engage the Fidelity of his Vassal by the Cession of this Fief. Terms, that denote a Perfect Enfeoffment.

We see likewise, that *Alan*, and *Berenger*, the two *Breton* Princes, as they are call'd, paid Homage to him: and by his Command, before his Death, to his Son, with the Usual Ceremonies.

They renew'd the same at his Accession to the Dukedom: but in Contempt  
of

of his Youth, they revolted, in a pretence, that it was given for Provision, for a Time ; and they declar'd, they would hold only of the Kings of *France*. *William Long-Sword* call'd his Council. His Ministers, and the Principal Officers of his Father, represented to him, that *Bretagne* was given him in Vassalage to *Normandy*, and not only for a certain Period. This ended in a Warlike Effort to quell the Rebels: *William* enter'd *Bretagne* at the Head of his *Normans*. He ravag'd the Country without opposition : But on his Return, *Alan*, *Pierre le Band*, *Dargentré*, and *Berenger*, Heads of the Revolt, enter'd *Normandy* in their turn, made Reprisals, and pursu'd the Expedition with Fire and Sword, as far as *Bayeux*. Duke *William* gain'd a Battle over them, and enter'd the Country victorious. They had recourse to his Clemency ; he pardon'd them, and receiv'd Count *Berenger* into favour, who took a New Oath of Fidelity to him ; but he condemn'd *Alan*, the principal Author of the Revolt, to Banishment ; he retir'd to *England*, and the Duke of *Normandy* reign'd afterwards in Peace over that Province, and *Bretagne*.

After

After this, the *Bretons* in all their Wars follow'd his Ensigns: and in imitation of his Father, he oblig'd the *Normans* and *Bretons* to own his Son as his Successor. *Dudo*, Dean of *St. Quintin*, that was at his Court, and wrote his History, reports, that he reign'd equally over both Provinces: and *William* of *Jumiege*, his Continuator, tells us, that *Richard* II, Son of *Richard* I, in a War with *Endes*, Count of *Chartres* and of *Blois*, form'd his Army of both *Normans* and *Bretons*.

*F. Lobineau*, who refers us so often to the First Edition of *Mezeray*, will find, p. 38. in the Reign of King *Robert*, these Words upon the Subject.

' The *Bretons*, as Vassals of this Duke,  
' assisted him in all his Wars: but they  
' had Civil Broils among them, till *Jes-*  
' *fery*, Son of *Conan*, subdu'd all *Bretagne*,  
' after having constrain'd *Judicael*, Count  
' of *Nantes*, to do him Homage; he be-  
' came after so haughty, as to Coin Mo-  
' ney; which he had done, if he had not  
' been Vassal to the Duke of *Normandy*,  
' to whom the *Bretons* were Homagers,  
' and to whom Himself paid it at *Rouen*,  
' an. 1003.

History is silent about this Homage, during the Reign of *Richard* III, Son  
of



of *Richard II*; that Prince having only reign'd about a Year and Half, and they not falling from their Obedience.

But under *Robert*, his Brother and Successor, *Alain*, Count of *Bretagne*, and Cousin-German of the Duke of *Normandy*, revolted from him. This was the subject of a bloody War; but the *Breton*, in Despondency of his Power, recurr'd to the Mediation of the Arch-Bishop of *Roüen*; who brought him to the Fortrefs of Mount St. *Michael*, and implor'd the Clemency of *Robert* in his Favour. *Robert* was pleas'd; and the Count submissively swore Fealty to him, and ever after persever'd in his Obedience. This is the Account of *William* of *Jumieges*, and *Albert Crantz*.

The War reviv'd between their Sons, *William the Bastard*, or the Conqueror, and *Conan*, Son of *Alan*, Count of *Bretagne*. The Ambition of *Alan*, says *William* of *Poitiers*, drove him to Arms: For he rather would be a declar'd Enemy to the Duke of *Normandy*, than his Vassal; and, like his Father, rebell'd against his Lord. He remember'd that *Rollo* gave a Peace to *Charles* on the Marriage of his Daughter, and the Perpetual Donation of the Fief of *Bretagne*:

*tagne*: that the Counts of that Province often endeavour'd to shake off the *Norman* Yoke, but were compell'd again to submit to it.

The Conquest of *England* seems to have interrupted this War. The Duke of *Normandy*, call'd by the Will of King *Edward* to the Succession of this Crown, cross'd the Sea. *William* of *Malmsbury* pretends, that before he embark'd, he reduc'd the Count of *Bretagne* to sue \* for Mercy, and pay Homage. But this is doubtful: for this Count demand-ed even *Normandy*, as Heir of Duke *Robert*, *William* being only his Natural Son: and after the Conquest of *England*, he resum'd his first Design upon *Bretagne* †. *Oderic Vitalis*, an Historian of the following Age, tells us, that he aim'd not only at the Homage, but the Reduction of *Bretagne* by force of Arms. To extend the bounds of his State, and reduce the *Bretons* to Obedience to *Rollo*, *William*, and the other Dukes of *Normandy*, besieg'd the Town of *Dol*, with a puissant Army.

It is pretended, that he swore, not to leave the Place, till he carry'd it. But

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\* At ille Britanniam ut hereditarium solum calumniis, &c. Will. Malmesb. l. 3. p. 98. edit. Frankf. † p. 544.

*Alan Fergeant*, Successor of *Conan*, coming to its Succour, oblig'd him to retire; tho' he was a young Prince, and this was his first Enterprize in War. This ended in a Treaty of Peace; tho' we know not, whether the Homage of *Breton* was a Condition, as it happen'd in that of *Mount St. Michael*: Yet \* *Radulphus de Diceto* tells us, that he subdu'd *Bretagne*, which makes it credible. *Vitalis*, a Contemporary, affirms, that *Alan* paid Homage to *Henry I*, Son of *William*; so that he hardly refus'd it to his Father: which makes me presume, that *William* aim'd at the Conquest of that Province, as well as of *Maine* and *England*, and not barely the Homage.

But nothing better proves the Sovereignty of the Conqueror, and his Possession of the direct Seignury of *Bretagne*, than the Affair of the Bishop of *Dol*.

† *Pope Gregory VII*, a severe Punisher of Simony, complain'd to *William*, that this Bishop purchas'd his See of *Alan*, Count of *Bretagne*, and after this crimi-

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\* *Abbrev. Chron. Aut. Rad. de Dicet.* p. 488. Edit Londini.

† *Greg. PP. Sept. Epist. 1. ad Willelm. Reg. Angl. V. mart. veter. Script. nova Collect.* p. 77.



nal Intrusion, married his Concubine in a public Manner. The Pope gave his Dignity to a Monk of St. *Melaine*, call'd *Even*.

But the depos'd Bishop appeal'd to *William*; and the Pope, in another Letter to him, refer'd a second View of the Cause to his Consideration. He commanded him to send to the Place, *Hugo*, Bishop of *Die*, *Hubert*, Subdeacon of the Church of *Rome*, and the Monk *Leuzon*, to inform him exactly of the Truth, and appoint his Commissaries to prepare the Tryal, that should give him an Account of all that pass'd.

If the Duke of *Normandy* had not been the Lord of *Bretagne*, is it probable that in a Process of this Consequence, which ought to be form'd in this Province, the Pope would invite him to send his Officers? Would the Count of *Bretagne* have suffer'd it? But *F. Lobineau*, who knew well the Consequence that might be drawn from these *Norman* Commissaries, has suppress'd that part of this Letter of the Pope, in the Extract that he has given us of it; with the same Liberty that he takes in all his Works, to curtail a Place, and sink all that is not favourable to his Principles.

It is by the same Want of Accuracy or Sincerity, that this Author has not spoken a Word in his History of the Treaty of *Gisors*, made between *Lewis the Gross* (or *Fat*) King of *France*, and *Henry*, King of *England* and Duke of *Normandy*, the youngest Son of *William the Conqueror*.

Upon this Head, *Vitalis* affirms, that the King gave to *Henry Belême* the County of *Mans*, and all *Bretagne*; for *Alain Fergeant*, adds he, Prince of the *Bretons*, was own'd as Vassal to that Prince, and had already paid his Homage to him. \*

This is a new Proof: *Alain* pays Homage to *Henry*, as his Lord; *Henry* to the King of *France*, as Sovereign of both Provinces.

The Male-Line of the *Norman* Dukes from *Rollo*, ended in *Henry I.* His only Daughter, Widow of the Emperor *Henry V.*, having no Children by him, marry'd *Jeffery*, surnam'd *Martel*, Count of *Anjou*; and by this Match, devolv'd *Normandy* and *Bretagne* to *Henry II.*, her Son; this was the House of the Princes of *An-*

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\* Ambo itaque Reges, &c. Od. Vit. Eccles. Hist. l. 12. p. 841. ed Par. Chesn.

*jou*, so well known by the Surname of *Plantagenet*.

*Henry II*, one of the most powerful Princes of his Time, Count of *Anjou*, after the Death of his Father: King of *England*, Duke of *Normandy*, and Lord of *Bretagne*, by his Mother; and after Prince of *Aquitaine*, Duke of *Guyenne*, of *Auvergne*, and Count of *Poitiers*, by his Marriage with *Eleonora*, Dutcheſs of *Guyenne*. Theſe are the Titles given him by the Author of the Exploits of the Conſuls of *Anjou*, in his Epistle dedicatory.\*

We find the *Bretons* in the Army of *Henry*, Ann. 1150, when he was not King of *England*. *Robert Dumont*, a contemporary Historian, ſpeaking of the Siege of *Arques*, tells us, his Army was compos'd of *Normans*, *Angevins*, and *Bretons*, then his Subjects. *Henry of Huntington* ſpeaks the ſame of his Army, after he came to the Crown. He after ravag'd the Country of *Bretagne*, raz'd the Caſtle of *Fougeres*, to chaſtiſe the *Bretons*, who during his Stay in *England* diſobey'd the Orders of the Queen

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\* Henrico, Regi Anglorum, Duci Normannorum, Comiti, &c.



his Consort. † *Robert Dumont* reports, that he dispos'd of the Persons and Estates of the principal Lords at his Discretion; and *John* of *Salisbury* informs us, that the Power of the *English*, and the Force of this Prince, kept the *Bretons* in Submission.

*Henry* had four Male Children, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Jeffery*, and *John*: The King of *England* design'd the Eldest for his Successor to the Crown; he order'd his Coronation, as such, while alive, and gave him at the same Time the Dutchy of *Normandy* and the Lordship of *Bretagne*. *Richard* was allotted the Dutchy of *Aquitaine*. *Jeffery* was marry'd to *Constance*, Heiress of *Conan*, Count of *Bretagne*; and was in Hopes of *Anjou*, after the Death of his Father. The Appanage of *John* was the County of *Mor-tain*.

Young *Henry* soon did Homage to *Lewis VII*, King of *France*, both for *Normandy* and *Bretagne*; and demanded the same of his Brother *Jeffery*, for *Bretagne*: He render'd it to him, and re-

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† Quia verò optimates Cenomanici Comitatus, &c. Chr. Norm. Chesh. p. 1000.

ceived the like from the *Bretons* his Subjects.\*

† *Matthew Paris*, in the thirteenth Century, avers the same Thing; that *Jeffery* paid Homage to *Henry*, eldest Son of *Henry II*, as his Father commanded; but *Richard*, Duke of *Aquitaine*, refus'd it.

It is not hard to reconcile the different Conduct of the two Princes. The Duke of *Bretagne* made a voluntary Homage, founded upon Right, and actual Possession. *Richard* stav'd it off as a Novelty, that tended to make *Aquitaine* subject to *Normandy*, which it never was.

\* *Thomas Walsingham* confirms the Debt of Homage from *Bretagne* to *Normandy* by the same Fact, and the antient Concession of the Kings of *France*.

Young *Henry* dy'd about the Year 1183. *Jeffery*, Count of *Bretagne*, follow'd him three Years after; and left a young Prince, nam'd *Arthur*, to succeed him. *Henry II*, their Father, dy'd Ann. 1189.

\* 1168. *Henricus Filius Henrici*, &c. *ibid*.

† *Circà dies istos Henricus*, &c. *Matt. Par. l. 1. ad Ann. 1183. Lond. p. 141.*

\* *Rex Pater nempe parùm antè jusserrat Filio*, &c. *Hypod. Neust. p. 151. Edit. Francf. 1603.*

*The Establishment of the*

*Richard*, surnamed *Cœur de Lion*, succeeded, both in *England* and *Normandy*; in the last Quality, he reviv'd the Pretensions of his Father, who after the Death of *Jeffery*, had demanded the Guardianship of *Arthur*, his Grandson, as Lord of *Bretagne*: \* This we learn from *Gervase* of *Canterbury*, a Contemporary Historian, who wrote the History of *England*, under the Reign of the Children of *Henry III.* The King of *England*, says this Author, demanded the Government of *Bretagne*. But *Philip* King of *France*, oppos'd it; for the lesser *Bretagne* is of the Domain of the Crown of *France*, and the King of *England* had in some Measure put him in Possession of it, when he submitted his Son *Jeffery*, his Wife, and the Land of *Bretagne* to the Dominion of the King of *France*.

*Philip*, call'd after the *August*, pretended that by this Treaty, *Henry* had given to him the Sovereignty of *Bretagne*; but *Richard* maintain'd, that *Bretagne* was always dependent upon *Normandy*.

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\* Rex Angliæ Dominatum Britanniae, &c. Gerv. Dorob. ad Ann. 1186.



These two Princes, who were engag'd in the holy War, made a Treaty at *Messina*, says *Roger de Hoveden*, another Contemporary Historian, brought up at the Court of *Henry II.* The King of *England*, says this Author, promis'd to give up *Gisors* to *France*. *Philip* agreed, that *Bretagne* should be held in Liege-Vassalage of *Normandy*, provided the Dukes of *Normandy* should hold of the Crown of *France* for both of them.

*Richard* dying without Posterity, *Arthur*, Son of *Jeffery*, Duke of *Bretagne*, by *Constance* his Mother, and *John Sans-Terre* his Uncle, Youngest Son of *Henry II.*, claim'd to be Heirs of the Crown of *England*, and Dutchy of *Normandy*. *Arthur* descended from *Jeffery*, elder Brother of *John*; but he disputed the Right with him, as not being well establish'd, especially in *England*: and he pretended that King *Richard* his Brother, made him Successor by Will. He took Possession of *Normandy*, and *England*. This was follow'd by a War, in which *France* was a Sharer, but at last it was accommodated. *John* remain'd in Possession of the Crown of *England* and Dutchy of *Normandy*: and it was part of a Treaty of Peace between him and the

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King

King of *France*, that *Arthur* should hold *Bretagne* of him, by the Feudal Laws; as he held of *France*, for his *English* Dominions in that Country \*.

Accordingly † *Arthur* paid Homage to him as a Vassal, as it is affirm'd by *Thomas Walsingham*, and ‡ *Polydore Virgil*.

The War broke out afresh between them, and *Arthur* was taken and put to Death by his Uncle. The Lords of *Bretagne* complain'd to *Philip*, who cited the *English* Monarch to the Court of Peers. He was condemn'd for Contumacy, and his *French* Dominions were Confiscated. In execution of this *Ar-rêt*, *Philip* made himself Master of all *Normandy*; and by this Re-union, *Bretagne*, which held of him before, return'd to a direct and immediate Dependence upon our Kings, about three hundred Years after the Grant of *Charles* to *Rollo*. *F. Lobineau* has attack'd this Grant in the Second Tome of his History of *Bretagne*. " It will find, says " he, more than one Reader, that will " admire, he has said nothing in the

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\* Charta pacis inter Reg. Franc. Philip: & Reg. Ang. Joan. an. 1200. vid. Ches. p. 1055. † Hypod. Neust. p. 458. ‡ L. 17. p. 261. & Matr. Paris ad an. 1200.

" Course

“ Course of his History, of this pre-  
 “ tended Homage of *Bretagne*, granted  
 “ to the Dukes of *Normandy* by *Charles*  
 “ *the Simple*; according to *Dudo*, Dean  
 “ of *St. Quintin*, and many other Au-  
 “ thors, that have faithfully copy’d him :  
 “ It is not, continues he, that the little  
 “ we have said on the Authority of  
 “ *Flodoard*, is not more than sufficient  
 “ to destroy this Fable : but we would  
 “ wish to see this point of History better  
 “ clear’d; and satisfy the Curiosity of  
 “ the Reader about it. ” Then he attacks  
 the Dean of *St. Quintin*, upon the  
 Cession of this Seigneury; and adds,  
 “ that since it is prov’d, that *Bretagne*  
 “ was not given to *Rollo*, and his Suc-  
 “ cessors, it is needless to evince, that  
 “ Homage was not paid to them: that  
 “ is, all the History of so many Ages  
 “ and Nations relating to the Dependence  
 “ of the *Bretons* is absolutely false; its  
 “ Facts are Fables; and its Writers mer-  
 “ cenary, or Complaisant to the *Nor-*  
 “ *mans*.

This Charge of *F. Lobineau* gave birth  
 to the *Treatise of the Fief*; in which it  
 was represented, that he was oblig’d to  
 confute, not only the Homage paid to  
*Rollo*, and the Authors that reported it  
 after *Dudo*, but other Homages paid by  
*Bretagne*



*Bretagne* to *Normandy*, and many different Authorities, Facts, and Historians.

This Objection, supported by so many Proofs, has made him change his System; and to prevent a Necessity of owning to the Public, that he laid too much Stress upon so general a Proposition, against all the Authority of our Dukes over *Bretagne*, he has dissembled his Name in his Answer; and affirms, that he spoke only of the Homages in *Dudo*, and not against the Historians, that have not follow'd him. Let the Reader judge, whether he has not excluded more than the Homages paid to *Rollo*, to *William Long-Sword* his Son, and *Richard the First*, in the Terms above, which equally include all the Dukes of *Normandy*; and when he asserts, that we may judge of all by the two Homages, related by *Dudo* to be paid to the two first Dukes of *Normandy*, (which he condemns as fabulous) can there be an Exclusion more formal, or more general? But since every Author must be allow'd to correct his own Mistakes, upon Admonition, it is much the same, whether he puts on the Mask, or declares them openly.

Let us now examine his new System, which he substitutes to the former.

Having

Having rejected all the Historians, with regard to these Homages, he is pleas'd to allow those that are not mention'd by *Dudo*, which were paid to *Robert*, Son of *Richard II*, and to all the *Norman* Dukes of the House of *Anjou*. All this, he owns, is so precisely clear'd, that he must come into it. But then again he tells you, this is founded upon the Prejudices that *Dudo* has spread thro' his Work. He ought to examine, why he rejects the Authority of *Dudo*, and the other Historians. For we can prove, that the Homages he allows are Arguments for them, which he disowns. To settle this important Matter, we will cast his Objections to the Close, and unravel the principal Question.

The Original of the Dependence of *Bretagne* upon the Dutchy of *Normandy* is attributed by all the *French* Historians to *Charles the Simple*, who gave the direct Seigneury of this Province, under the Sovereignty of the Crown, to *Rollo*, the first Duke of the *Normans*.

This we learn from *Dudo*, an Historian of the tenth Age; from *William du Jumièges*, of the eleventh, and others here quoted. To crush an Opinion, receiv'd near eight hundred Years, *Dudo* is represented as the first Author of the Fable:

Fable: He does not convince us by opposite Authorities, either more antient or coeval, that reject the Treaty of *St. Clair*, and the Cession of *Bretagne*, or the Interview of the two Princes at that Village. He has taken a shorter and easier Road, to shew the Faults of *Dudo*, from the different Circumstances of the Life of *Rollo*. We will not make an Apology in general for *Dudo*; like other Writers, he has his Failures, but they do not touch the Main of the Question. This, and the principal Facts are good, tho' he may err, as to Time or Place, or Things that cannot now be agreed or determin'd. But we may reject any Historian on a Pretence of some false Circumstance; so our Adversary owns, to prevent that Objection against several Acts in the second Tome of his History, which he pretends were collected by the most learned Religious of his Congregation, and yet he finds many particular Errors in them. We do not, says he, allege this or other Acts, as faultless to an exact Criticism; but as the Foundation of them is Credible. Thus he eludes the Reproach of arguing from Titles, that are suspected, or notoriously false, but he forbids all others the Use of this Principle.

We



We readily own, that *Dudo* has too often set *Franco* in the Archiepiscopal Chair of *Roüen*; that his Descriptions of *Rollo*, and *Gisla*, are sometimes improbable. But tho' these are charg'd too high with Figures and Ornaments, yet so long as the essential Circumstances are true, the Fidelity of the Historian is irreproachable. "The Dean of *St. Quintin*,  
" says *F. Lobineau*, recites, that *Rollo*,  
" or *Raoul*, chief of the *Normans*, du-  
" ring his Siege of *Paris*, took *Bayeux*,  
" and espous'd *Popa*, Daughter of *Be-*  
" *renger*, Count of the same Town, o-  
" therwise call'd *Guy*, Count of *Senlis*:  
" That after he was baptis'd by *Franco*,  
" who was Archbishop of *Roüen*, *An.*  
" 876; that he espous'd *Gisla*, Daughter  
" of *Charles the Simple*; who gave him  
" *Bretagne* and *Normandy*; that *Alan*  
" and *Berenger* paid Homage to him,  
" and his Son *William Long-Sword*, and  
" to *Richard* the first, Son of *William*;  
" that the *Bretons* follow'd their Court,  
" and serv'd in their Armies." Here,  
adds he, are five Fables, whose Falshood  
we will make appear.

It is our Demand that he proves this Charge by Historians of Credit, Contemporary with *Rollo*; that *Bretagne* was not granted to him, nor paid Ho-  
mage

mage to *Normandy*, and we will quit him the other Facts. For what is it to the Question, whether he took *Bayeux*, or made *Popa* his Wife or his Concubine; whether he was baptis'd by *Franco*, or *Witon* his Predecessor; or whether *Gisla* was the lawful or unnatural Daughter of *Charles*? We have justify'd these Facts; but, notwithstanding his Chicane about them, they are absolutely indifferent to the stress of the Question. That turns upon the Treaty of *St. Clair*, in which *Normandy* and *Bretagne* were given to *Rollo*. This is a Possession of above 300 Years, and is a substantial Title, reported by *Dudo*; *F. Lobineau* denies it, and these are his Exceptions.

“ *Dudo* is, says he, a Plagiary, an Author of no Credit, and as fabulous as the *Theogony* of *Hesiod*, or the *Iliad* of *Homer*.” Reproach is no Proof: However, contemptible as he is, *Dudo* was singled out by *Richard I*, one of the greatest Princes of his Age, to write the History of *Rollo* his Uncle, and *William Long-sword* his Father, in the very Time when they liv'd; so that he might be a Spectator of those that serv'd in their Armies, and draw thence the Certainty of his Memoirs. This had been a Mockery on the *French*, *Bretons*, and *Normans* them-

themselves, if the Fact had not been notoriously Publick; all the World would have exclaim'd against it; the *Breton* and *French* Historians would have been equally false. As if M. de *Perefixe*, Preceptor of the King, who wrote the History of *Henry IV*, as the greatest Model he could propose to his Grandson, should affirm, to raise the Glory of that Prince by fictitious Praises, that the King of *Spain* had resign'd the Dutchy of *Milan* by the Treaty of *Verveins*; and that it paid Homage to him and his Successors: Would not this have expos'd the Author to universal Contempt, and would not he have been contradicted by every Historian since his Time, in all Nations?

*Dudo*, who liv'd in the Time, and in the Court of the Grandson of *Rollo*, reports; that on the Grant of the Lordship, the *Bretons* paid Homage to him, his Son, and Grandson. This Cession is mention'd by all the *French* Historians, that speak of the Affairs of *France*, under that Epocha. Could this be an Invention, and none mark it for an Imposture, during the Space of eight hundred Years, except *Bouchard*, *Le Baud*, and *Dargentre*?

\* Besides, *Radulphus*, Count of *Turi*,

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\* Cujusque constant libro, &c. Vers. ad Comit. Rodolph. Chesn. Hist. Norm.

and



and *Bayeux*, Twin-brother of *Richard I.*, had written the same Account before, in the Time and Knowledge of *Dudo*; and tho' his Work is lost, his Epistle to *Adelberon*, Bishop of *Laon*, is a Proof of his Fidelity; for in that he submits his Piece to the Censure of that Prelate, and conjures him to erase all that is false in it. †

But, says *F. Lobineau*, *Dudo* was not a *Norman*, and took his Accounts from others that were deceiv'd in Facts the most considerable; as in the Date of the Death of *Rollo*; so that by this we may form a Judgment of the rest.

But this Manner of reasoning is pretty extraordinary, that he could not speak of this Homage, or of that Time, of which he was Witness, because he was not a *Norman*.

Had he been a *Norman*, he might have been suspected of Partiality: So that if a Writer be a Foreigner, he must be ignorant, if of the same Country, prejudic'd. This is a new Inlet to a kind of historical Pyrrhonism. But since Men do not carry their Doubts so far, upon the Knowledge

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† *Tux Majestati mittere disposui, &c.* Epist. ad Adalb. Episc. Laudan. 16. p. 51.

of Facts, we answer, that *Dudo* indeed was not a *Norman*, and therefore impartial; but he was of a Province contiguous to *Normandy*. He had been sent in Quality of Ambassador to Duke *Richard*, was nine entire Years in his Court, a time sufficient to know the Affairs of his Father and Uncle; and tho' what he reports of the time of the Death of *Rollo* has no Influence on the Cession of *Bretagne*, and the Treaty of *St. Clair*; yet we may easily justify him against *F. Lobineau*, who pretends that he places it *an. 917*.

He himself has misconstru'd the Writer, and is mistaken. \* *Dudo* tells us, that *Robert*, Count of *Paris*, plotted the Deposition of *Charles the Simple*, and would have engag'd *Rollo* in the Conspiracy. He declin'd it, and after oblig'd both the *Normans* and *Bretons* to recognize his Son, *William Long-sword*, for his Successor; that he liv'd five Years afterwards, and died in an advanc'd Age. *Flodoard*, and all our good Historians, place the Revolt of Count *Robert*, *an. 922*, and therefore we must set the Death of this Prince, who liv'd five Years after, about the Year 927, tho' *F. Lobineau*

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\* *Mistique Legatum Robertus, &c. Dud. C. 2. p. 86.*

has fix'd it *an.* 925; so that we have no Doubt here of the Exactness of our Historian. So *William* of *Jumieges*, who liv'd in the following Age, and might have seen this Author, or at least those that liv'd in his Time, being commanded, says he, to write an History of *Normandy*, reported, as he has done, the Treaty of *St. Clair*; and declar'd, that he wrote to the Reign of *Richard II.* (*Hist. l. 4. c. 20.*) he drew from the Memoirs of *Radulphus* Count of *Bayeux*. So that here we have an Historian prior to *Dudo* and *William de Jumieges*, Brother to *Richard* the First; who must be acquainted with these Transactions.

'Tis surprizing, that *F. Lobineau*, who has read these Writers, can aver, that the Homage of *Bretagne* to *Normandy* is not mention'd by any *Norman* Historian, since the Death of *William Longsword*: and that several Changes pass'd without any Footsteps of them, or of the Oaths of Fealty, sworn by the Dukes of *Bretagne*. Certainly his Works must be compos'd from unfaithful Memoirs, or too precipitate a View of the Authors he quotes. For if he had cast his Eyes on the third Book of the History of *Dudo*, *p. 113.* he might observe, that *William Longsword* having been assassinated



nated by the Orders of the Count of *Flanders*, an. 942, the *Normans* and *Bretons* solemnly recogniz'd *Richard* I. his Son, for their Successor, with this Cry: "See whom we will serve and defend; him, that has receiv'd our Oaths of Fidelity during the Life of his Father."

And again, that *Berenger*, Count of *Bretagne*, addressing the whole Assembly, represented to them, with Tears, that he must immediately set young *Richard* upon the Throne of his Father, lest the Neighbouring Nations should make an Insult upon their Frontiers. They applauded his Sentiment, brought thither the Reliques of the Saints, and renew'd the Oaths they made to him in the Life of his Father.

Here is an Homage since the Death of *William Long-sword*, contrary to *F. Lobineau*. *William de Jumieges* enters into a larger detail of this Fact; and after an Account of the Grief of *Bretagne* upon the Massacre of *William*, he describes the Manner in which they carry'd his Body to *Rouen*, sent \* for *Richard* to *Bayeux*, the Place of his Education, and renew'd their Homage to him.

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\* *Mittentes itaque, &c. Guill. Gemet. l. 3. c. 11. p. 238.*

So that F. *Lobineau* fallsly affirms, three or four Changes to arrive in the *Norman* Story, without a Mention of the Subjection of the *Bretons*. The Homage paid to *Richard* I. could not be more solidly prov'd. I have already shewn from *William* of *Jumieges*, that the *Bretons* fought under the Ensigns of *Richard* II, Son of *Richard* I.

He tells us, that in a War with the Count of *Chartres*, he made up his Army of *Bretons*, and *Normans*. Therefore he was Sovereign of both People. It is only to *Richard* III, Son of *Richard* II, that we find no Homage to be paid: but we find nothing to the contrary in any Historian; and that Prince hardly reigning a Year and half, we may presume, the Homage done to his Predecessors was thought sufficient, since they took an Oath to *Robert* his Brother, and Successor. So that F. *Lobineau's* four Changes, in which there was no Homage, are reduc'd to a single Reign of eighteen Months. But to follow our Story; *Alan* Count of *Bretagne* paid Homage to *Robert*, as we have explain'd. But since this is ascrib'd, by F. *Lobineau*, to Surprise, and false Declarations, we will represent what we find upon the Subject in the History of F. *Lobineau*,  
the

the *Treatise of the Fief*, and the Answer of our Adversary to that *Treatise*.

At that time, *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* declar'd War against the Duke of *Bretagne*, and prepar'd to build the Fort of *Charruez*, near the Mouth of the River *Coisnon*, to awe the Country of *Dol*, which he came to ravage; after which, he return'd to *Normandy*, content with that Insult.

*Alan*, the Year following, took up Arms in the County of *Avranches*, to revenge it. But without attempting to destroy the New Fortrefs, he employ'd himself in laying waste the Country without measure.

*Nigelle* and *Alured*, who had a good Force in the Place, did not lose an Occasion of attacking the *Bretons*, while they were in *Difarray*, and loaded with Spoils; and made a great Slaughter among them. So that *Alan* was only mortify'd by his Enterprize. But *Robert* went further. A Fleet which he design'd against *Canute* Usurper of the *English* Crown, was forc'd by stress of Weather to put into Harbour, within View of Mount *St. Michael*. Appriz'd of this, he sent Orders to *Rabel*, the Commander of it, to make a Descent upon the Coast of *Bretagne*, while he fell



in with his Cavalry on the other side; But the Archbishop of *Roüen*, Uncle to both of them, on the Sollicitation of the Duke, came to reconcile them; and in an Interview on Mount St. *Michael* dispatch'd that Affair.

If any Man be curious to know, whence he draws an Account of a War so Circumstantial, without letting us into the Subject, or the Motives of it, or the Conditions of the Treaty, he will find the Authority of *William de Jumieges* in the *Margent*: But if you consult that Contemporary Author, you will be something surpriz'd to find, l. 6. c. 8. that this War was kindled by the Ambition of *Alan*, Count of *Bretagne*, who withdrew his Obedience from the Duke of *Normandy*: and c. 11. that the *Breton*, unable to resist him, implor'd the Mediation of the Archbishop; that this Prelate brought him to the Fortrefs of Mount St. *Michael*, and address'd the incens'd Duke in his favour; and that the Count of *Bretagne* with Humble Submission took an Oath of Fidelity.

I have thus explain'd the Case in the *Treatise of the Fief*, upon the Silence of *F. Lobineau*, who has suppress'd this Testimony of the Historian, even in his very Quotation of him. To this he replies,

plies, that he is no Contemporary Historian; that he writes by Hearsay, by Conjecture, and the Prejudices he has taken from *Dudo*, whom he has abridg'd; that, as to his own Particular, he can follow him in the Facts he recites, without adopting the Reasons he reports for them, because he might be faithful in one, and not in the other. That *Jeffery*, Duke of *Bretagne*, on his Journey to *Rome*, entrusted the Guard of his Country and Children with his Nephew, *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*; that probably, on the Prepossession he took from *Dudo*, *Robert* attempted to make the young Princes look upon him as their Sovereign; but they refus'd to submit, and so did many of their Successors, which created several Wars between *Normandy* and *Bretagne*; and that this Insinuation to the Young Princes was after carry'd farther, to establish by Degrees the Dependence and Homage of *Bretagne*.

Thus *F. Lobineau* has oppos'd the Facts and Testimony of our Historians, as Fables and Conjectures: We will examine the Solidity of his Objections, and begin with his Judgment upon *William de Jumieges*.

Why does he borrow the Authority of a Writer, that is not Contemporary, and takes his Accounts from Hearsay? Why does he quote him? He either ought to reject him, or cite him entirely. It is from *William de Jumieges* that he takes the Accommodation between the Duke of *Normandy* and the Count of *Bretagne*: so far he is a Credible Historian: but when he mentions the Homage to *Normandy* as one Condition of the Treaty; and that this was paid, and follow'd by a Just Conduct, then he becomes Apocryphal, and ought to be suppress'd.

But is it certain, that he was not a Contemporary Author? This, he tells us, is contriv'd to enforce his Authority; for, adds he, it does not appear that he was in the World, *an. 1029*, which is the Date of this Dispute; since he wrote the History of *Henry I*, King of *England*, *an. 1137*.

This is another Illusion, that can impose only on the Common sort of Readers: for the least conversant in History know, that he dedicated his Work to *William* the Conqueror, and ended it, *an. 1066*, after his Conquest of *England*; as *Oderic Vitalis* reports, an Author that liv'd fifty four Years after.

What



What follows is the Work of an Anonymous Author, suppos'd to be a Monk of the Abbey of St. *Bec*. It is an Abuse that has often crept into Manuscripts, by the Ignorance of the Transcribers, to put out the Works of a Continuator under the Name of an Author; thus the Chronicle of *Fredegaire* (if that be his Name) is ascrib'd entirely to him, tho' only the first Ninety Chapters be written by him.

*Aimoin* extended his Work no further than *l. 4. c. 41.* tho' his Name is affix'd to five. Thus, as to the Chronicle of the Abbot of *Usperg* (which is a Collection of different Pieces, in which the Authors speak of themselves in the first Person) if the whole belongs to him, he must have liv'd above Two Hundred Years; for he says, *an. 1099*, that he follow'd *Godfrey of Bouillon* to the Holy Land; that he was at *Rome, an. 1102*; that a Comet appear'd, *an. 1106*; that *an. 1202* he was ordain'd a Priest, became a Religious three Years after, and *an. 1215* was elected Abbot of *Usperg*. We know the latter Facts belong to him, but the former are Inconsistent.

We find by the Dedication to *William* the Conqueror, that *William de Jumièges* liv'd *an. 1066*. And it is more likely

likely that a Man, who liv'd, *an.* 1066, should be born before the Year 1029, than that he should live from the Year 1066, when his Work was publish'd, till 1137, at which Time his Continuator ends.

So that he must be a good Witness of a Fact that happen'd *an.* 1029; for he was born but a Year or two after, and has no Author of that Age or Authority to oppose him. " I have writ nothing," says he, since the Reign of *Richard* " II, whereof I was not an Eye Wit-  
" nels; or was approv'd by a Number  
" of Witnesses, equally sufficient, by an  
" advanc'd Age, and an Experience of  
" Affairs, to support the Truth of my  
" Relation."

This Historian is cited by *F. Lobineau* as a Credible Author, but he has suppress'd a Part of his Sentiments, because they were contrary to his Prejudices; and has accus'd him as a Forger, where he relates the Homage paid by *Alan* III, Duke of *Bretagne*, to *Robert* II, Duke of *Normandy*. Thus he makes the Rule of True and False to be an Agreement or Opposition of Facts to his Particular Opinions.

But notwithstanding these little Arts, the Truth of this Homage will subsist  
in

in History. F. *Lobineau* was sensible of this, and adds, that if it be true, all we can conclude from it, is, not that the Fief of *Bretagne* was conceded to *Rollo*, but that this *Alan* is the first that was persuaded, that he ow'd Service and Fealty to the Dukes of *Normandy*; and that this Persuasion was founded upon the Mistakes of *Dudo*.

Here this Homage is acknowledg'd by him. There is no further Question, according to him, but about the Foundation, or the Pretence of the Duke of *Normandy* to require it.

As to the other Assertion, that the Children of *Jeffery* of *Bretagne* were ensnar'd into a Thought of Obedience due to *Robert*, which gave Rise to this Homage; it is a gay Romance, and easily discover'd to be false. For in this Case, it was not to *Robert*, but *Richard II*, his Father, that the Guardianship of the Children and *Bretagne* was committed, as the Sovereign of the Province. So that he mistakes the Son for the Father. Nay, he himself has affirm'd, *Hist. p. 87*, that *Richard* was entrusted with the Children of *Jeffery*, which is very amazing. He places this Event, *Ann. 1008*, and he has drawn it from *William of Jumièges, l. 5. c. 13*. But does not he fear  
in



in this, the Reproach of a Contradiction, and an Anachronism of above twenty Years? He cannot forget, that he had avow'd the Trust of these Children to be plac'd in *Richard II*, (not in *Robert*) to whom the Guardianship of them belong'd of Right? He has also told us, that this Prince dy'd in his Voyage to *Rome*, *Ann.* 1008. Now it was certainly *Richard II*, that reign'd that Year in *Normandy*. He liv'd to about the Year 1026. *Richard III*, his Son, succeeded him; and it was not till the Year 1028, that his Brother *Robert* began to reign in that Province. Thus, according to him, it was twenty Years after the Death of *Jeffery*, Count of *Bretagne*, that he nam'd *Robert*, Duke of *Normandy*, Tutor to his Children. In what a Maze of Errors is he engag'd, in Defence of an Opinion, that owes its Origin to Fable and Prejudice?

Add, that in this imaginary System, the Pupil was older than the Tutor: For *Jeffery*, Count of *Bretagne*, had been marry'd before *Richard II*, Duke of *Normandy*; so *Alan*, eldest Son of *Jeffery*, must have been born before *Robert*, the second Son of *Richard II*. But suppose for once that *Robert* had been Guardian of *Alan*, and his Brother, where  
does

does F. *Lobineau* find, that upon the Mistakes of *Dudo* he impos'd himself as a Sovereign on his Ward? or that they refus'd to do Homage to him? These are important Facts; but when F. *Lobineau* lays them down as the Foundation of the Fief, he will say perhaps, that he proposes them not as Facts, but as probable Conjectures. But is it probable, on the Faith of so decry'd and fabulous a Writer as *Dudo*, that a Duke of *Normandy* in Gaiety of Heart should attack a Duke of *Bretagne*, demand Homage of him as a Vassal, and that all his Successors, on that Fable, should submit so tamely to the *Norman* Princes? Either the Book of *Dudo* was an authentic Title, or, which is more probable, it was not so much for the Testimony of the Historian, as from constant Possession, that this Homage was render'd.

The War reviv'd between the Children and Successors of these two Princes, that is, *William* Son of *Robert*, and *Conan* Son of *Alan*; and this was the Subject of it.

Some Lords of *Bretagne*, says F. *Lobineau*, implor'd the Protection of *William*, and invited him, under different Pretences, to pass into that Province,  
and

and deliver them from the Tyranny of *Conan*.

*F. Lobineau* has reported this Event, upon the Faith of *William of Poitiers*, a contemporary Historian. I have said elsewhere, that he and I must have different Editions of him, because we read the same Facts in an opposite Manner; and I us'd that soft Expression, not openly to tell him, that he falsely cited an Historian, whose Evidence he employ'd.

For he avers, it was the Pretence of some Rebels that began the Quarrel; but *William of Poitiers* imputes it to the Ambition of *Conan*, who rather chose to be Enemy to *Normandy*, than Vassal to it; and rebel against his Lord, as his Father had done before. He forgot, that *Charles*, in Consideration of Peace, gave his Daughter in Marriage to *Rollo*, and the Lordship of *Bretagne* in perpetual Service. He adds, that the Counts of this Province often try'd to shake off the *Norman Yoke*, but were reduc'd still to bear it.

Thus the Historian. *F. Lobineau* has committed two Faults in this Affair; one, in quoting what is not in his Work; the other, in concealing all that is positive about the Fief in it. To the first Charge he



he makes no Reply; to the second, he agrees, that these Facts are reported by *William of Poitiers*; but that he did not think himself oblig'd to espouse the Passions, or follow the Errors of a *Norman* Writer; and that his Suppression of some Things is an Effect of that Discernment we should use in the Writings of passionate Authors, tho' they wrote upon Subjects that happen'd in their own Time.

This Rule of Critic is judicious and useful; but here not well apply'd: Our Historian has written truly the History of *William*, Duke of *Normandy*, but ought we therefore to reject what he has said of the *Bretons*, *English*, *French*, and others? But, says *F. Lobineau*, he has drawn a strange Character of the *Bretons*, and he ought not to be follow'd in other Matters, as he is entitled to be in his Facts.

*Conan*, says *William of Poitiers*, was so rash, as to fix the Day for invading the *Norman* Frontiers. The Confidence of this Man, who was naturally of a violent Temper, and in the Flower of his Age, was encreas'd by the immense Number of his Soldiers, in a Country very extensive, who multiplied vastly; for like the antient *Moors*, who were ignorant of  
Virtue,

Virtue, or a divine Law, every Man had ten Wives, and more; the meaner People were much delighted with Arms and Horses, and neither cultivated their Land nor their Manners: They liv'd upon Milk, and eat but little Bread: Instead of Corn, the Country was cover'd with Pasturage: In Times of Peace, they liv'd upon Rapine, Theft, and Slaughter: They go to Battle very gay and sanguine, and are furious in the Fray: They break in with Ease upon others, but are not easily broken: The Honour of the Victory gives them an unconceivable Joy: They love to plunder a slain Enemy, and raise a Pleasure and a Glory from that Action.

On the Report of this Passage, F. *Lo-bineau* exclaims; How strange a Nation are the *Bretons*, if they resemble so hideous a Portrait?

But it is not so frightful, as he pretends; at least we are furnish'd with others in different Historians, in which we meet with Features very much alike. \* The Fathers of the third Council of *Soissons*, complaining, *Ann.* 866, to Pope *Nicholas I*, that the *Bretons* would not

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\* *Inde fit ut nullus, &c.* Conc. antiq. Gall. Sirm. edit. Paris. 1629.

recognize the Metropolitan of *Tours*, represent them as a fierce, haughty, barbarous People, without Law, or Discipline, or Manners, or any Trace of religious Rites. This Synodical Letter is sign'd by seven Metropolitans, and twenty three Bishops.

But possibly F. *Lobineau* will reject this Testimony, however venerable, as too remote from the Times spoken of by *William of Poitiers*.

Let us then approach his own Time, and see how they are mention'd by \* *Rodulphus Glaber*, who liv'd *An. 1045*. *Rennes*, says he, is the Capital of the Country, inhabited by the *Bretons*, whose entire Riches consist in a great Plenty of Milk-meats, and an Exemption from Taxes. They are a People unpolite, and unfashion'd; they betray a very choleric Temper on the smallest Subjects, and their Discourses are for the most part void of Sense.

*Abelard* †, who liv'd in the same Age, and was elected Abbot of *St. Gildas de Rhuis* in *Bretagne*, complains heavily, that he was fallen into a Place, where the Christians and Monks were more

\* Est enim illius Metropolis Civitas, &c. *Glaber*. p. 14. edit. *Francf.* 1596.

† Incidi in Christianos, &c. *Abel*. p. 32.



wicked and cruel, than the *Turks* and *Infidels*.

These *Breton Monks*, at that Time, publicly kept their *Concubines* and *Children*. *Abelard*, in a Desire to correct these Disorders, expos'd himself to the greatest Dangers. The Monks attempted often to poison him, with the Rage of Devils. And since the Precaution he took would not permit them to accomplish it in the ordinary Ways, by his Meat or Drink, they poison'd the Sacrament. In short, he was oblig'd to fly in fear of an Assassination. This is his Character of them.

*Baldric*, a celebrated Historian, rais'd for his Piety to the Bishoprick of *Dol*, was not better us'd by his Clergy. He was entrusted, \* says *Oderick Vitalis*, with a People that he could not reclaim, and whose wickedness he detested; which oblig'd him often to quit them, and retire into *Normandy*, where the Church of *Dol* enjoy'd certain Revenues, from the time of *St. Samson*, and the Reign of King *Hildebert*. In short, *F. Lobineau* agrees, *Hist. l. 3.* " that the Bishops of *Vannes*, *Quimper*, *Rennes* and

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\* *Eccles. Hist. lib. 9. p. 760. ad an. 1099.*

" *Nantes*,

“ Nantes, were marry’d; and that their  
 “ Children were Bishops after them like-  
 “ wise, and marry’d; that their Priests  
 “ were no better nor chaster than their  
 “ Prelates; and that the Wives of these  
 “ Ecclesiasticks publickly took the Qua-  
 “ lity of Priestesses.” If the Clergy and  
 the Monks were so irregular, the Laicks,  
 and especially the Soldiery, were hardly  
 more scrupulous.

I do not find that the Picture of the  
*Bretons* in *William of Pottiers* is more  
 loaded than that of *Glaber*, and *Oderic*  
*Vitalis*, who liv’d very near the same  
 time. Yet if *F. Lobineau* will retrench  
 the Number of Concubines to each Sol-  
 dier, we will not oppose him, provided  
 he will own that *William de Pottiers*,  
 Chaplain of the Duke of Normandy, must  
 know what pass’d in his Reign, accor-  
 ding to the Opinion of the Continuator  
 of *William de Jumieges*, who refers us  
 to him for the principal Events of the  
 Life of *William the Conqueror*. But *F.*  
*Lobineau* will object, that he tells us, that  
 Prince demanded Homage of *Bretagne*,  
 conformably to the Treaty between  
*Charles the Simple*, and *Rollo* Chief-  
 tain of the *Normans*. This is an Appeal  
 to the Treaty of *St. Clair*, that puts our  
 Author in ill Humour. He enquires,  
 where he finds it; and on a Reply, that

it occurs in the Annals; he adds, It has no Warrant, but *Dudo*.

But why is he not a sufficient Authority for a Passage that happen'd in his own Age? And why are the Works of *Dudo* meant by the Word *Annals*? He wrote no Annals, but entitled his Work, *three Books of the Manners and Actions of the first Dukes of Normandy*. It is not written in the Manner of Annals. But *F. Lobineau* sees *Dudo* in every thing; the Historians, *French, English or German*, are all Copyists of *Dudo*. We may observe by the way, that for so fabulous an Author as he calls him, he must be very singular to be follow'd by so great a Number of Historians, in different Ages and Nations. But if he had consulted the Book of the Count of *Bayeux*, a Work extant in his own Time, he would have found at the end of the eleventh Age those Annals, that furnish'd *William of Poitiers* with the Treaty of *St. Clair*, the Foundation of the Conqueror's Claim, without recurring to the Treatise of *Dudo*.

Yet, urges he, since we must be better acquainted with these *Norman Princes*, we seriously agree, that the Opinion of the Cession of *Bretagne* to them, tho' founded on an Error, was by degrees establish'd, after the *English Crown* gave more



more Life to their Pretensions. Thus in the Treaty of *Gisors*, an. 1113, between *Lewis the Gross* (or *Fat*) King of *France*, and *Henry I*, King of *England*, *Lewis* yielded to him the Fief of *Bretagne*. On the same footing, *Henry II*, of *England*, having given *Normandy* to *Henry* his eldest Son, he paid Homage to the King for that and *Bretagne*; and *Jeffery*, Duke of *Bretagne*, Brother of this young *Henry*, did Homage to his Brother for *Bretagne*: (an Act which he now allows, tho' he disown'd it in his Dissertation; for then he either was unacquainted with the Treaty of *Gisors*, or at least did not mention so considerable an Event in his History.) But this Allowance, pursues he, is a Mark of my Candor; whereas my Adversary shall not escape the Reproach of what he has falsely advanc'd, that I attack'd this Homage in my Dissertation.

The same Dissertation affords another Proof. *F. Lobineau*, flattering himself that he has destroy'd the Authority of *Dudo*, as to the Homages paid to *Rollo* and *William Long-sword*, adds, We must judge of the rest in the same manner; that is, as they are fabulous, the other must be false. But has not he excepted against the Homage render'd to *Henry* Duke of *Normandy*, by *Jeffery* his Brother,

ther, Count of *Bretagne*, when he says, that *Jeffery* was not inform'd in all his Rights, or had no Opportunity to enforce them, when he paid it? In short, has not he attack'd that Homage in the very Place, where he seems to own it, when he avers in his Answer, that this Homage was founded upon an original Mistake? For, as he proceeds, I disapprove what he affirms, that *Jeffery* was not acquainted with his Rights: And without remarking upon his odious Comparisons, I said, that there are no Titles, nor Acts ever so Solemn, which may not be invalidated by these Reasons; and that, if any Historian of *Lorraine* should disallow at any time the Oath of Fidelity taken by the Duke of *Lorraine* to the King, *an.* 1699, for the Dutchy of *Bar*, he might only say, to elude the Proofs of the Gentlemen of the Chamber of Accounts, in the like Manner, that that Prince was not well acquainted with his Rights. The Comparison, says he, is not just; the Dependency of *Lorraine* on the Crown is not question'd, like that of *Bretagne*.

But is this certain, that the Dependency of the Dutchy of *Bar* is not contested? Let him read the Piece, entitled,

tled, \* *Stemmatum Lotharingæ ac Barri Ducum, &c.* He will find there, that the Author, call'd *de Rosieres*, maintains, that the Counts or Dukes of *Bar* held originally of the Empire; and enjoy'd all Regal Privileges, independent of all other Sovereigns; and that at last, *Henry III*, Count of *Bar*, taken Prisoner by the *French*, redeem'd his Liberty by the Loss of his Independence, and on Compulsion paid Homage to our Kings. This Book was proscrib'd by Order of Council, and the Author sent to the Bastille, for diminishing the Rights of the Crown, and the Grandeur of the Monarchy.

To return: *F. Lobineau* thinks he has sunk the Authority we alledg'd for the Homage of *Jeffery*, by saying that he was ignorant of his Rights. I wonder he does not give the same Answer to all the rest we have reported; it would be the most Compendious. But then his Council too must have been as ignorant; for Princes never take a Step so tender, and so important, without the Deliberation of their Council. Besides, is it probable, that so ambitious a Prince, as

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\* Hinc Barri Comites, &c. Pref. ad t. 7. p. 372.



*Henry II*, who own'd the Conquest of the Earth would not satisfy him, and was as dexterous as he was ambitious, would not have been very well inclin'd to draw *Bretagne*, possess'd by his Son, into the subordinate Rank of a *Mefne-Fief*? *Normandy* might pass into another House, and *Prince Jefferrey*, or his Descendents, might be Feudatory to a Lord of inferior Birth. Yet he made his Children pay Homage to the Duke of *Normandy* by the Count of *Bretagne*; who perform'd it, says the Historian, in a voluntary Manner; so that the Right must have been Solid, and Authentic.

After this *F. Lobineau* tells us, that the Confirmation of it by *Philip the August* to *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, and the Homage of *Arthur* of *Bretagne* to *John Sans-Terre*, spring from the same erroneous Principle, which makes the Cession of it to *Rollo* regard the Kings of *England* as a Constant Fact.

But not only the *Norman* Dukes, but they of *Bretagne* have ever been convinc'd of it. The former would only have given room for a Pretension, but the Facts confirm it a Truth equally own'd by both Nations, by a constant Tradition up from the last to the first. All these Proofs are a mutual Strength to each other.

other. So that, without *Dudo*, Possession is a Title that answers all Objections; and to see it at once, we need only go from the last Duke of *Normandy* to the first. *Arthur*, Duke or Count of *Bretagne*, paid Homage to *John Sans-Terre*, last Duke of *Normandy*. *Richard* before him was confirm'd in the same Lordship by *Philip the August*. *Jefferey* had done Homage before to young *Henry*. *Henry II*, his Father, reckon'd the *Bretons* as his Subjects, and made them serve as such in his Armies. *Alan Fergeant*, Count of *Bretagne*, paid Homage to *Henry I*, Son of *William the Conqueror*. *William*, with whom the Duke of *Bretagne* disputed the Crown of *Normandy*, as descended by the Mother's side of *Richard I*, demanded Homage of his Rival, upon his own Frontiers: and the Pope, notwithstanding their reciprocal Pretensions, exhorted this Prince to send his Commissioners into *Bretagne*, to assist at the Process of a Bishop, which he had no Right to do, had he not been acknowledg'd the Lord of the Province. *Alan III*, Count of *Bretagne*, paid Homage to *Robert*, Father of *William*. The *Bretons* serv'd in the Army of *Richard II*, and did Homage before to *Richard I*, during the Life of his Father,  
and

and they renew'd their Oaths of Fidelity on his Succession. *William*, Father of *Richard I.* and Son of *Rollo*, was equally acknowledg'd as Lord of the *Bretons* and *Normans*. And *Dudo*, whose Pen, says *F. Lobineau*, has been so fatal to the *Bretons*, tells us, that *Charles the Simple* gave *Bretagne* in Subjection to *Rollo*, as well as for the Accommodation of his People.

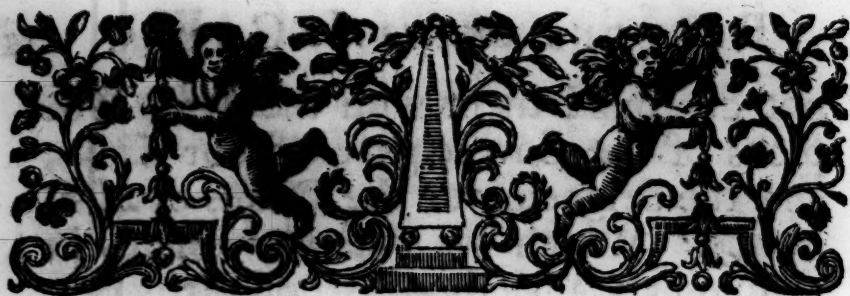
So that every Duke of *Normandy* exerted his Command over *Bretagne*, except *Richard III.* who is only not mention'd to do it, because his Reign lasted no more than eighteen Months.

Let the Reader judge the Solidity of *F. Lobineau's* Objections, and whether the Dependence of *Bretagne* upon *Normandy* be a Fable. This Question, after all, is become so needless, since the Reunion of these two Provinces to the Crown, that we should not have engag'd in it, but to defend the Sovereignty of our Kings. And we should here have set Bounds to our Labour, if it would not have been constru'd an Inability to answer the many frivolous Objections of our Adversary. We have thought it proper to post-pone the Chief of them to the End of this Work, that we might  
not



not confound them with the Main Topics of the Sovereignty of our Kings, and the Seigneury of the Dukes of Normandy: Which we will now discuss in as summary a Method as possible.





A CRITICAL  
HISTORY  
OF THE

*Establishment of the BRETONS  
among the GAULS; and of their  
Dependence upon the Kings of  
France, and the Dukes of Nor-  
mandy.*

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BOOK VI.

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WE must now reply to some Particular Objections pointed by our Adversary against the Fief of *Bretagne*; but before that, it will be of Use to lay down some Reflections, that arise naturally from the Facts we are to establish.

The

The first is, that F. Lobineau who stiffly denies, in his first Treatise, the Homage of any Duke or Count of *Bretagne* to *Normandy*; in his second, confines that Denial to *Rollo*, *William*, and *Richard I*; and owns, that many of our Dukes, since the Reign of those three Princes, exercis'd a Lordship over *Bretagne*. He does not treat the Homages of *Robert*, Duke of *Normandy*, and his Successors, Kings of *England*, as fabulous: and speaking elsewhere of the Confirmation of the Fief by *Philip the August* to *Richard* of *England*, by the Treaty of *Messina*, and the Homage of *Arthur I*, of *Bretagne*, to *John Sans-Terre*, he owns the force of it, on the Testimony of so many Contemporary Authors.

So that, on his own Concession, seven *Norman* Dukes are out of Dispute; and own'd the Sovereigns of *Bretagne*. Why then did he assert these Homages to be like those receiv'd by *Rollo*, and *William Long-sword*, and equally fabulous? and yet maintain after, that he has not attack'd the Homages render'd to the Dukes of *Normandy*, Kings of *England*?

Moreover, tho' he avow'd all the Historians that spoke of this Fief to be only Copiers of *Dudo*, yet he has excepted  
so



to many Writers of different Ages and Nations, whom I have oppos'd to him, as relating many Homages paid to Normandy by *Bretagne*, since the Death of *Dudo*, as not Copying him, in the Facts that are subsequent to him, and are absolutely different from those we find in his Work.

So that he has yielded us much Ground. Of Twelve Norman Dukes, he allows the Pretensions of *John Sans-Terre*, Young *Henry*, *Henry II*, *Henry I*, *William* the Conqueror, and *Robert* his Father, Seven of them. *Richard III*, reigning but Eighteen Months, we have no Monument of his Seignoury over *Bretagne*; but we find one in the Armies of *Richard II*, his Father; and *William de Fumieges*, who is an Authority upon this Subject, could not copy after *Dudo*, for *Dudo* ends his History at the Time of *Richard I*.

So that the General Charge of Falshood is confin'd to the Homages demand'd by *Rollo*, by *William Long-sword*, and *Richard I*, mention'd by *Dudo*. To annul his Evidence, he charges him with Error; and lays the same Imputation on the Monk of *Fleury*.

Let

Let us see, if these Errors be real. Difference of Circumstances indeed is a Fault common to the Writers of the middle Age; but let us examine whether an Inaccuracy in that Point, touches the main Question of the Cession of *Bretagne*.

The first Fact he represents as fabulous, is, that *Rollo* took *Bayeux* during the Siege of *Paris*, and after marry'd *Popa*, Daughter of the Count of *Bessin*. *Flodoard*, says he, assures us, that *Mans* and *Bayeux* were added to the Countries already possess'd by the *Normans*, *an.* 914. so that *Bayeux* was not then under the *Norman* Power, or at least, they had not fortify'd and secur'd it. Therefore it could not be comprehended in the States yielded to *Rollo* by the Treaty of *St. Clair*, made *an.* 912, because that Addition happen'd *an.* 924. So that *Charles the Simple* was so far from giving the Seigneury of *Bretagne* to *Rollo*, that he did not entirely grant him *Normandy*, since *Bessin* then was not subject to him. He fortifies this Reasoning by the Authority of the Anonymous Monk of *Fleury*, who tells us, that the Part of *Neustria* assign'd to *Rollo* was bounded by the River *Orne*, which excludes the *Bessin*, the *Cotentin*,  
and

and the *Avranchin*, according to his Construction.

We ought to satisfy these Objections; and begin with the taking of *Bayeux*, which is equally attested by *Dudo*, *William de Jumièges*, and the Monk of *Fleury*; and here can we infer, that *Rollo* had not taken it, *an. 912*, because he was not Master of it, *an. 924*?

And ought not we to distinguish the Taking of a Town from the Continuance of the Possession? These are different Facts. *Rollo* and his *Normans* stay'd a while in *France*, during their first Incursion; then they pass'd into *England*. Eager of Spoil, they did not care to guard the Places they surpriz'd, nor could they preserve them without strong Garrisons, which might have broken their Army. And can he deny, against the Unanimous Testimony of our Historians, that the Barbarians took and plunder'd at the same time, *Orleans*, *Tours*, *Nantes*, *Poitiers*, *Bordeaux*, *Roën*, *Mans*, *Sens*, *Laon*, *Soissons*, and many other Towns, that prov'd their Fury? Yet they kept none; because they did not aim at an Establishment: And *Rollo*, after the Reduction of *Bayeux*, went into *England*, where he was Three Years. I repeat it: we must distinguish the  
Taking



Taking of a Place from the Possession. But F. *Lobineau* demands a Proof of the Fact of *Popa*, Daughter of the Count of *Bayeux*. He shall have it: but then he destroys by a manifest Contradiction all he advanc'd against the taking of *Bayeux*; for the Siege, Conquest of the Place, and Marriage of *Popa* are joyn'd together by the Historians. After all, this does not touch the Fief of *Bretagne*, whether *Bayeux* was taken or not before the Year 912. But, says he, we must agree, that this Place was not given to *Rollo* by the Treaty of 912, because *Flodoard* avers, it was yielded up twelve Years after this Treaty, *an.* 924. a Proof that the Country yielded to the *Normans* was not on the Frontier of *Bretagne*.

This Reasoning would be just, if the Cession of the Rights over a Place were at all times follow'd by the Possession.

But these again are different Facts: How many Examples have we in History of the different Investitures granted by our Kings, of which Possession was taken after by Force of Arms?

The new Lord had Rivals and Neighbours to encounter in the Country, near his new Subjects, who would not sub-

mit to his Dominion; and who, especially towards the End of the second Race, made themselves Judges of their Duty. *Fladoard*, cited by *F. Lobineau*, gives us a convincing Proof of it; For tho' he owns that *Bayeux* was given, or, which is more likely, confirm'd to *Rollo*, *an.* 924, yet we find that *an.* 925 the Inhabitants of this Town made several Inroads into *Normandy*: which is a Proof, that on certain Times we must distinguish between Letters of Cession, and the Investiture of an actual Possession. The Solemn and General Treaty of *St. Clair* gives an Incontestable Establishment to the Right of *Rollo*, over both Provinces. But he often wanted Armies to make it effectual: and *Dudo* does not acquaint us that *Rollo* ow'd the Submission of the *Bretons* only to his Arms. Thus *Philip the August* gave the Counties of *Anjou* and *Poitiers* to *Arthur I*, Count of *Bretagne*, on Condition, (says that Prince in his Letters of Investiture) that he should make himself Master of it by Force of Arms. King *Charles VI*, having given, *an.* 1415, the Confiscation of all the Estate of a Lord of *Parthenay*, to another *Arthur*, second Son of *John Duke of Bretagne*, on the Revolt of that Lord; that Prince adds in his Letters,

ters, that he made him that Donation, on this Term, that he could make himself Master of it by an Army. On which, he seiz'd all the Places that belong'd to this Rebel, except the Town of *Parthenay*, and a Fort situated near *Rochelle*. Can we conclude, that because he could not seize these and other Places at once, he had not this Confiscation? And if we will go higher, without parting from *Bretagne*; do we not learn from the Chronicle of *Prosper*, that *Aëtius*, General of the *Romans*, having assign'd the Lands of *Armorica* to the *Alani*, they did not possess them, till they had driven out the first Possessors and Inhabitants by Force of Arms. It is no wonder then that the *Normans* were not at once Masters of the Places yielded to them by the Treaty: but this Cession of *Bayeux* is so constant a Fact, that when *Rollo* was inclin'd after his Baptism to make Donations to the most Eminent Churches, *Franco*, Archbishop of *Roüen*, pointed out to him that of *Bayeux*, and Mount *St. Michael*, as we have reported in the *Treatise of the Fief*; which he could not have done, if they had not been included in the Country assign'd to him. This is ill Reasoning, says *F. Lobineau*; for if these Presents are a Proof



of what they pretend, we must conclude, that St. *Denis* in *France* made a Cession to *Rollo*, because that was the seventh Church he honour'd with his Bounty. Had not F. *Lobineau* reported elsewhere the entire Passage of *Dudo*, we might ascribe this to his Usual Precipitation in Reading. He knew that *Rollo* enquir'd about the Churches in the Country that was to be resign'd to him; and when he ask'd what was the most Reverenc'd Saint in the Neighbourhood, he was answer'd, St. *Denis*. These are distinct States, The Churches in *Terrâ nostrâ*, and the Saint in *Confinio nostræ potestatis*, that is, in our Land, and in the Confines of our Power. He could not be Ignorant of this Passage, since he more than once repeats it: and it informs us, there was a plain Distinction put between the Churches situated in his State, and those in the Adjacent Country. This is no Mark of Sincerity, when an Author is cited, to conclude the contrary to the Passage. But, says he, we learn from the Monk of *Fleury*, that the Part given to *Rollo* was bounded by the River *Orne*, so that so far was he from being Master of *Bretagne*, that three large Dioceses were left out of his Command; since the *Orne* throws it self into the Sea on  
this

this side *Bayeux*. He reckons so far on this Objection, as to arm the Frontispiece of his Book with it : and often repeats it as Decisive.

To this we answer, that the Words, On the side of the *Bessin* (as a Bound to *Rollo's* State) are his own Invention: The Author says only, that *Arne*, or rather *Aure*, were the Limits of it. For it separates *Normandy* from *France*; but it was on the side of *Beauce*, and the Isle of *France*; as we shew'd above that *Richard II*, of *Normandy*, built the Fort of *Tillieres* on that River: which gave Rise to the *Latin* Verse,

*Arva, licet parva, Francorum dividit  
Arva.*

If he consults the Historian in *Duchefne's* Collection, *p.* 339. *tom.* 3. *Ed.* 2. he might there read, that he bounded his State with the River *Aure*; which, according to *Baudrand*, has its Rise in *Perche*, and winding towards the East, separates *Normandy* from *Beauce* and the Isle of *France*; which cannot agree with the *Orne*, call'd *Olin* by *Robert Cenalis*, which passes to *Sées*, *Argentan*, *Caën*, where it falls into the Sea on this side of *Bayeux*: And it proves, that he did not mean this River, when he declares,

clares, that *Charles the Simple* granted to *Rollo* the Country call'd \* *Normandy* at present, from *Landelle* to the Sea. In the time of this Historian, who liv'd in the beginning of the twelfth Age, as we see in his Chronicle, *Normandy*, since the Year 933, was on the Frontier of *Bretagne*, and the River of *Coisnon* serv'd for the Bounds of both Provinces, by the Confession of *F. Lobineau* himself. If so, it could not be the *Orne* that bounded it. If it were, of what Use would *Bretagne* have been to the Duke of *Normandy*, separated from him by the Dioceses of *Bayeux*, *Contances*, and *Avranches*? It were better, had he the Lordship of those Dioceses; but the Historian tells us, that *Charles the Simple* added all *Bretagne* to the Cession of *Normandy*, under the same Title in which he possess'd it: to engage him as a faithful Vassal, in a firm Attachment to the Interests of *France*.

It is not probable, that this Historian, who assures us all the Country call'd *Normandy* in his Time was given with *Bretagne*, in Fief to *Rollo*, should contradict himself, and make the *Orne* the Bound of it. *F. Lobineau* would subtly

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\* Quæ nunc Normannia vocitatur.



amuse his Reader, that the *Orne* passing by *Caën*, is the *Aure*, that runs along the Walls of *Verneuil*, *Tillieres*, and *Nonancourt*: Why then should he reproach me with a Concealment of this Passage in the Monk of *Fleury*? Must I mistake the River, as he does; and transpose the Bounds of Provinces?

To this he adds another Objection, that I have alter'd the Sense of this Author by an Unfaithful Translation; he speaks in these Terms of the Grant of *Charles the Simple* to the Dukes of *Normandy*, *Ut per hoc beneficium efficeret illum sibi fidelissimum Vassallum*: Which I translated, 'In a View of engaging him, by so Great a Fief, to be, as a Faithful Vassal, inviolably attach'd to the Interests of *France*.' *F. Lobineau* turns it, 'To secure the Fidelity of his Vassal by so great a Favour.' And appeals to his Reader for the Comparative Justness of it, with a Charge of explaining the Words in a Sense the most conformable to my own Ideas.

I agree to this Appeal: We dispute upon the Sense of the Word *Beneficium*, translated by *F. Lobineau* a Favour; and by me, a Fief: Let this decide the Question. I own the General Sense of the Word to be a Benefit or Favour; thus *Terence* in his *Eunuchus*, *Cupio aliquos*

*parare amicos beneficio meo*, I desire to get some Friends by my good Offices.

But it has also many Particular Significations. It is well known, the Word *Beneficium* was us'd in the Lower Empire to express the Lands assign'd by the Emperors to the Soldiers, that were charg'd with the Guard of the Frontiers.

\* It is us'd in the Church for the Portion allotted to each Ecclesiastic, as a Spiritual Soldier. We find it also in our Customs and Laws, us'd to express a Third Part of the Reversionary Estate of Father and Mother, to be enjoy'd, as to the Use of it, by the younger Children. But the true Sense of it in the Writers of the Middle Age, says *M. du Cange*, is a Grant of Crown-Lands to a Person for Life; call'd *Beneficium*, as it proceeds from the Royal Bounty: and the Motive of it was a closer Tie upon the Fidelity of the Vassal. The Author of the Annals of *Fulda*, speaking of the Donation of *Ludovicus Germanicus* to *Hugo* Son of *Lotharius* and *Waldrade*, uses the same Word; *Abbatias & Comitatus in beneficium dedit, &c. i. e.*

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\* Notum est quod milites, &c. St. Aug. Serm. 1. in Vig. Pentec.

gave him the Abbies and Counties in Fief \*.

These Benefices, or to speak in the Feudal Language, Fiefs, given at first only for Life, towards the Middle of the tenth Age became Hereditary †. *Regino*, on the Year 940, tells us, that Count *Uton*, before his Death, parted all his Benefices and Governments, like Inheritances, by the King's Permission, among his Children. *Du Cange* adds, that the Lands before call'd Benefices were after styl'd Fiefs. And he proves it by a Charter of *Otho*, Count of *Vermandois*, an. 1025, where speaking of a River enfeoff'd to a Person, he calls it at once a Fief and a Benefice. *Baldwin* of *Jerusalem*, Count of *Hainault*, having granted a Mill to an Abby, oblig'd the Abbot to pay a Revenue out of it to the Soldiers, to whom the Benefice, commonly call'd the Fief, shall fall. And it was under this Title, that *Clovis*, the first Christian King, gave to *Aurelian* the Castle of *Melun*, *jure Beneficii*, to be held, in Right of a Benefice ‡. The most Learned Lawyers, says *Chantereau*, agree that Fiefs and Benefices are the same

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\* Gloss. de M. du Cange in verb. Beneficium. † Uto Comes obiit, &c. Reg. ad an. 940. ‡ Aimon. l. 1. c. 14.

Thing,



Thing, and use the Words as synonymous in their Writings \*.

Indeed some Authors here differ, as to the Nature of the Possession, and Obligation annex'd to it. But all concur in the Sense of the Word abovemention'd. The Owners of Fiefs, says *du Cange*, were call'd Vassals of the Lord; as he proves by this Passage of the Annals of *St. Bertin*, 'The Bishops, Abbots, Counts, and Vassals of the Lord, that hold their Benefices in those Places.' And thus our Monk of *Fleury* calls *Bretagne* a Benefice or a Fief, granted to engage the Fidelity of the Vassal.

So that Benefice, Fief, and Vassalage are Relative Terms. A *Man de Fief*, or *de Poet*, as our Antient Feudists speak, is Vassal of the Lord, from whom he holds it. Therefore I justly translated *Beneficium*, a Fief, as implying a Vassalage; and not, like *F. Lobineau*, a Favour, which does not essentially imply it: being a word too general. But he was afraid of making *Bretagne* a Member of our Monarchy, and therefore employ'd the Word, Favour. Let the Reader judge who is the most Faithful Translator, and the most favourable

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\* De Orig. des Fiefs. p. 4.

to his own Sentiments in the Turn of the Expression.

But the Boldness of F. *Lobineau* encreases, as he proceeds : He does not merely alter the Sense of Authors, but gives a Variety of false Quotations, from Letters and Acts that have no Being.

The Question is, whether *Rollo* was baptiz'd by *Wito*, Archbishop of *Roën*, or *Franco*, his Successor, *Ann.* 912. *Rollo*, says he, was baptiz'd, according to *Dudo*, *Ann.* 912 ; and therefore it must be *Wito*, not *Franco*, that baptiz'd him. For *Wito* held the See of *Roën* at least from the Year 909, when he assisted at the Council of *Troslai*, assembled by *Hervey*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, till the Year 919, when the Pope writ to him about the Conversion of the *Normans*, according to *Flodoard* ; who proves, that it was owing to *Wito*, not to the other, l. 4. c. 14.

I have before answer'd, that the Pope's Letter to *Wito* is not mention'd by *Flodoard*. But as it is a Question of Fact, and he confidently quotes the fourteenth Chapter of his fourth Book for it, the Reader shall view that entire Chapter himself in the Sequel.

We find indeed in that Chapter, that *Hervey*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, was zealous

lous for the Conversion of the *Normans*; that, on the Request of *Wito*, Archbishop of *Rouën*, he compos'd a Collection of the Sentiments of the Fathers, as was usual in converting the Northern People, and that he consulted the Pope about that Affair.

But here is no Letter of the Pope to *Wito*, as *F. Lobineau* pretends, in Proof that *Franco* was not, *An. 912*, in the Archiepiscopal See of *Rouën*.

I would demand the Name of this Pope, the Place where this Letter, or the least Stroke of it is to be found. Could *F. Lobineau* persuade himself, that since he said, Pope *John* wrote to *Wito*, then Archbishop of *Rouën*, *An. 919*; therefore *Franco* was not invested with that Dignity? Does he flatter himself, the Reader will be contented with a Relation so little circumstanc'd, or warranted? Has he quoted the Acts of a Pope, without a particular Account of the Person? This would have expos'd him to the Conviction of a new Falshood. If we can believe, says he, *F. Labbé*, *Mess. de St. Marthe*, as well as *Baronius* and *Ciacconius*, this Letter was from *John XI*, who held the See from the Year 901 to 905. But if he consults those Writers, he will find they are the Popes *Theodore II*,



dore II, and John IX, that were in that See, *An.* 901; and that *Benedict* I succeeded the latter of them; and that *John* XI was not in the Chair of *St. Peter*, till the Year 931.

*Ciaconius* indeed, in the Life of Pope *John* IX, reports, that he wrote a Letter to *Hervey*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, and another to *Stillianus*, Bishop of *Neocaesarea*. That to the former, seems an Answer to *Hervey's* Letter, written, according to *F. Lobineau*, to this Pope. It is entitul'd, *The Answer of our Lord the Pope, to the Consultation of Hervey, Archbishop of Reims, about the Manner of treating the Normans, that relaps'd into Idolatry after Baptism.* We find this at large in *Binnius, Conc. Gen. tom. 7. p. 163.*

Here then is a Letter to *Hervey*, but none to *Witon*; so that it hinders not, but *Franco* might be install'd in the See of *Roüen*, *An.* 912; for *John* IX, who was rais'd to the Pontificate *An.* 901, dy'd four Years after, *An.* 905; and if there was a Letter from any Pope, *An.* 919, it must be from *John* X, who was plac'd in the Chair of *St. Peter*, *An.* 912, and dy'd *An.* 928; but we defy him to produce a Letter from him, either to *Wito* or *Hervey*.

What

What will he reply to so pressing an Objection? He is unsupported by his Quotation from *Flodoard*; nor can he tell us the Name of this Pope. But says he, when my Opponent, in some good original Charter, shews, that *Franco* was then Archbishop of *Roüen*, I will tell him where I find that Pope *John* wrote to *Wito*, *An. 919*.

This is his Part, to prove by Charters and Councils against my Evidences: But he denies all, and proves nothing. He recurs to *Flodoard*; I deny the Fact: Let the Reader judge by a Survey of the whole Passage of *Flodoard*.

*Conventus denique Synodales sæpè cum Coepiscopis suæ Diœceseos habuit, in quibus de Pace, & Religione Sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ, &c.* as he will find it in his History; *Flodoard. Presb. Hist. curâ Jac. Sirm. Par. 1611.*

But, says he, *Wito* was certainly Archbishop of *Roüen*, when the *Normans* became Christian; and when a Part of *Neustria* was granted them by a solemn Treaty. We answer, that we must distinguish the Entrance of *Rollo* into *France*, and his Conversion, from that of so many other *Normans* that went before him. For they appear'd on our Coasts in the Reign of *Charlemagne*, and  
exercis'd

exercis'd all kinds of Cruelty against the Priests and Religious, as Enemies to their Gods. They made their Religion consist in the Ruin of our Temples, and put all to Fire and Sword in our consecrated Places.

And it was to check their Fury, and in Zeal to Religion, that our Bishops travell'd over their respective Dioceses for the Conversion of these Barbarians.

St. *Ludger*, Bishop of *Munster*, had a Design, in the Time of *Charlemagne*, to spread the Faith, even in the Northern Countries. But the Glory of this Mission was reserv'd for *Ebbo*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, or one of his Nephews; who made that Voyage under the Reign of *Lewis the Debonair*, towards the Year 822. St. *Anschaire*, and *Ansbert*, his Disciple, and Author of his Life, follow'd him in that Course, *An. 829*. Our most Christian Kings came into so pious a Design, and supported it with all their Authority. *Lewis the Debonair* stood as Godfather to a *Norman* Prince call'd *Heriold*, and oblig'd him after with an Establishment in a Part of *Friezeland*. His Son, *Ludovicus Germanicus*, honour'd the Baptism of *Henault*, a *Norman* Prince, with his Presence. *Weland*, another *Norman* Prince, that enter'd the *Seine*, *An.*  
861,



861, with two hundred Sail of Ships, was converted after in the Reign of *Charles the Bald*. *Hugo Labbé*, Duke of *France*, engag'd a Number to embrace the Christian Religion, *An.* 876, from which they afterwards apostatiz'd. We see in the Chronicle of *Sigebert* of *Gemblours*, that under the Reign of *Charles the Gross*, Son of *Germanicus*, and towards the Year 882, *Jeffery* King of the *Normans* became a Christian; that the Emperor gave him *Friezeland* for a Retreat, and a Princess of the Royal Blood, call'd *Gisla*, in Marriage. In short, *Charles the Simple* engag'd King *Hondée* to be baptiz'd, and stood himself Godfather to him, *An.* 896.

These converted *Normans* durst not return into their own Country. They settled, marry'd, and made Alliances in *France*: The Monk *Abbo* represents them as living in a close Familiarity with the *French*. But as they could hardly renounce all their antient Superstitions, and many fell back openly into Idolatry, our Bishops consulted the Pope about proper Measures.

This is the Subject of the Letter written to Pope *John IX*, who dy'd seven Years before the Conversion of *Rollo*. And to prove that he was baptiz'd, *An.*

912, and by *Franco*, Archbishop of *Rouen*, we must consider, that *Dudo*, the Reporter of it, wrote in the Reign of *Richard I*, Grandson of *Rollo*, who dy'd *An. 986*, and therefore might see those that liv'd in the Time of *Franco*; that *William* of *Jumieges*, who fixes this Baptism at the same *Epocha*, took it from the Memoirs of *Radulphus*, Count of *Turi* and *Bayeux*, Twin-brother of *Richard*, a Prince that must be well instructed in a Fact so recent. I will add *Oderic Vitalis*, an Ecclesiastical Historian of unquestion'd Credit, that describes the *Norman* Story from *Rollo* to the Middle of the twelfth Age. We read in the antient Acts of the Archbishops of *Rouen*, collected in the second Tome of the *Analecta* of the learned *F. Mabillon*, these express Words, "*Franco* succeeded *Wito*. It was from the pious Exhortations of this Prelate, that *Rollo* was instructed in Christianity, and baptized." The second Tome of *F. Labbe's* Chronological Harmony, has an Extract from an antient Manuscript Chronicle, that ends *An. 1285*; in which we read, that, *An 912*, there was a League between *Rollo* and *Charles*, and that the King gave him his Daughter *Gisla*. The Date is equal to the Baptism and Marriage

of *Rollo*, which follow'd together upon the Treaty of *St. Clair*.

*Peter Baudius*, an Historian of *Bretagne*, so much esteem'd by *F. Lobineau*, tells us in his Work, c. 18, of this Baptism, Alliance, Marriage, and Cession, by the Mediation of *Franco*; and that *Rollo* at his Baptism was call'd *Robert*, by *Robert* Count of *Paris*, An. 912, according to *Sigebert*.

The great Chronicles of *France*, dedicated to King *Charles VIII*, have these Terms: On a general Complaint of Misery and Persecution reigning in *France* by his Default, the King was mov'd; and sent *Franco*, Archbishop of *Rouen*, to *Rollo*, with an Offer of his Daughter *Gisla* to Wife, and the Country from the *Seine* to *Bretagne*, if he and his People would be baptiz'd. On the Delivery of this Message, *Rollo* was much soften'd, and as if God had ordain'd it, he embrac'd the Overture by the Counsel of his People, and appointed a Day for a Conference: This was transacted at *St. Clair* upon *Epte*, where he allow'd a Truce of three Months; and promis'd that on a certain Day and Time he would make a Peace with the King.

On



On that Day, the King and Count *Robert* were on one side of the River, and *Rollo* on the other; and Messengers carry'd on the Affair between them. The King gave him all *Neustria* and *Bretagne* with his Daughter in Marriage, and commanded the Princes of the Country to pay Homage to him. The Country was Desert, Wild, and Uncultivated, by the Persecution and Inroads of the Pagans. Then the King, on his Return to *France*, sent back *Robert* Count of *Poitiers*, with *Rollo*.

At *Rouen*, Archbishop *Franco* prepar'd the Font for the Baptism of *Rollo*; *Robert*, Duke of *Aquitain*, rais'd him from the Font, and call'd him *Robert*.

We cannot find a more exact Relation of this Event: The two Parties agree to an Interview; The Conference is held at *St. Clair*; The King yields to the *Barbarians* all the Country they call *Normandy*; It extends to the Frontiers of *Bretagne*; The Seigneury of that Province is given up to *Rollo*; Two Counts of *Bretagne* do Homage to him; *Rollo* becomes a Christian; *Franco* baptises, and marries him. *Paulus Emilins* of *Verona*, Canon of *Notre-dame* at *Paris*, that wrote the History of *France* in the Reign of *Lewis XII*, confirms this Baptism,

tism by *Franco*. \* *Robert Gaguin*, that liv'd in the same Age, reports the Appointment of *Franco* to convert him; his Marriage, and Dowry of *Normandy* and *Bretagne*, with *Gisla*.

The Author of the Life of *St. Leufroi*, Abbot in *Normandy*, speaking of the Monks there, that retir'd into the Abby of *St. German des Prez*, during the Incurfion of *Rollo*, tells us their Inclination to return, after his Baptism by *Franco*.

In the Annals of *Belleforest*, of the sixteenth Age, we find, that *Rollo* abandon'd *Popa*, and espous'd the Daughter of *France*, after he was baptis'd by *Franco*.

*Rollo*, says *du Haillan* †, soon became a Christian, was baptis'd by *Franco*, and had Prince *Robert* for his Sponsor.

*Du Tillet* says, that *Charles the Simple* had a Son, call'd *Lewis d'Outremer* (*Ultramarinus*) and a Daughter, *Gisla*, espous'd to *Rollo*, after he was baptis'd by *Franco*, and nam'd *Robert*, by *Robert* that King's Brother, *an.* 912, after he had repudiated *Popa*, by whom he had Children, and whom he retook after the Death of *Gisla*. ‡

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\* P. 89. † Hist. de Franc. p. 259. ‡ Recueil des Rois de F. p. 53. Ed. 1580.

*Messrs de St. Marthe* assure us, that *Rollo* was wash'd by *Franco* in the Salutory Waters of Baptism.

The Commander *Rollo*, or *Rol*, says *Mezeray*, grew acquainted by Degrees with the Prelates of *France*; *Hervé*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, and *Vito*, Archbishop of *Roüen*, endeavour'd to civilise and convert him. Death took away this Honour from *Vito*, and left it to *Franco* his Successor.

I do not believe, there is any Bishop, Contemporary with *Franco*, so particularly mention'd. I ask, whether, if he was an imaginary Person, invented to act in this pretended Romance of *Dudo*; we should find his Name in so many different Works, mostly written near his own Time? I will add, after *M. des Tuilleries*, that we have in the Library of *M. Colbert*, a Manuscript of *Adelelme*, Bishop of *Séez*, who assures us, he compos'd it at the Desire of *Franco*. This is a Contemporary Author \*. We have brought in a Train of Historians to attest the same from Age to Age. If all this will not convince our Adversary, I hope he will not reject a Proof drawn from

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\* V. Sec. 3, Benedict. Part 2. p. 211.



a Work that makes the second Tome of his Book, because we read in the second Chronicle of *St. Florent*, under the Year 911, these express Words: "This Year the *Norman Rollo* was baptis'd by *Franco*, Archbishop of *Roüen*." I own, I was surpriz'd to find this Authority, *Tom. 2. l. 3. p. 92.* and yet oppos'd *p. 77.* of the same Book. I look'd upon the Margin, where we have sometimes Critical Notes, that afford another Lesson; upon the Errata, and the Preface; to find some Remark, that might correct the Chronology; but found on the contrary, that he affirm'd all to be true, and that if any thing occur'd that was otherwise, he would not admit it into his Piece. So that he has no Objection to this Chronicle of *St. Florent*. So that the Baptism of *Rollo* by *Franco* must stand; and it is apparent, that *F. Lobineau* had not read this Part of his Brethrens Collection, when he drew up his Dissertation.

To clear this Contradiction, he tells us, that he made his Dissertation *an. 1692*, and did not see the Titles of the Abby of *St. Florent*, till two Years after: And when he had seen them, he did not in the least say, that *Rollo* was not baptis'd by *Franco*. The Reason is, that this  
Chronicle

Chronicle is of the Beginning of the thirteenth Age, and according to the Rules of good Criticism, an Author of the thirteenth Age cannot support the Deposition of an Author that wrote near 150 Years before. The Author of this Chronicle either copy'd after *Dudo* in this Place, or after others that follow'd him; and if he did not retrench this Article, it was because he had Candor enough not to suppress a Place that made against him, in which he is not always imitated by his Adversary.

I believe his Dissertation was drawn up, before he saw this Chronicle; but he printed both together in the same Tome, in the same Book, and within five Columns of one another. The Dissertation has this Article, *p.* 79. and the Chronicle is plac'd *p.* 92. This ought to have been publish'd with a Corrective, as destructive to his Dissertation; especially after he had declar'd, that he would strictly adhere to the Truth of History. So that his Correction upon it should have been plac'd either in the Margin, or in the Dissertation it self. He calls his Silence on this Head, Candour; perhaps the Reader will give it another Name: It would have been Candour to own he was de-

P 4

ceiv'd,

ceiv'd, or to shew his Reasons for departing from this Chronicle.

But to maintain, *p. 77*, that *Franco* did not baptise *Rollo*, and yet in the same Book to represent the Proofs, and a Chronicle too, that demonstrate the contrary, is a manifest Contradiction. And when he objects the Date of it, in the thirteenth Age, he should have set an Historian against it, nearer the Time of *Rollo's* Baptism; one at least, that would affirm, that *Wito* liv'd *av. 912.* or indeed, some more Antient Author. But there is not one credible Writer of that sort to be alledg'd; and when I produce a Number in behalf of *Franco*, he tells me, they copy after *Dudo*; and yet this *Dudo* wrote in the Reign of *Rollo's* Grandson, and must have been Eye-witness of many that liv'd with *Franco*.

Must the History of King *Henry the Great*, compos'd by *M. de Peresfixe*, Archbishop of *Paris*, lose all its Credit with Posterity, because it was written in the Reign of his Grandson; as if that Author had not taken a Variety of his Memoirs from those that liv'd in his Reign? But under all this Weight of Authority, he is mighty easy; and says only, that when we shew him a good Original Charter to prove that *Franco* was Archbishop of *Rouen*,



*Rouen, an. 912*, he will let us into his Foundation, for the Writing of Pope *John to Wito, an. 912.*

He cannot really insist on this Proof, after so large a support of History. Some Persons, unknown to me, may look on this extraordinary Demand as a secret Reproach to him: They will exclaim, Why is a Charter requir'd after all these Historians? or why a Good Charter? Is any false one yet urg'd by his Opponent, any that has been stop'd at the Registry, at the Motion of Parties, or of the King's Council, as it happen'd some Years ago in a certain Town of the Kingdom? In short, is he one of those Crafty Jugglers in Title, that are artful in quashing any they aim at, to the Ruin of so many Families?

These Suspicions may arise upon his Answer; he owns in his Book, that he is something piqu'd at me; but if, in the Name of ill Fortune, he had follow'd the Maxim that he attributes to the Religious of *St. Florent, Revenge, if it cannot be atchiev'd by the Sword, must be gain'd by the Pen*, he must confess he was seiz'd with a Violent Emotion, when he gave place to these Suspicions. I would rather think it an Escape of his Pen, than of his Heart; and that in all his Reasons, he

he fetch'd in what he could; and that in the Demand of Good Original Charters, he was conscious of forging the Pope's Letter to *Wito*, which has been unheard of before.

His Third Objection is to the Marriage of *Gisla*. He tells us, that a Daughter of *Charles*, then but thirty two, or thirty three Years of Age, and marry'd about Nine Years himself, could not be marriageable, *an. 912*. The Truth is, *Gisla*, Daughter of *Lotharius*, was marry'd, *an. 888*, to *Jeffery*, a Convert Prince of *Normandy*; this is the Fact, and well attested.

He adds, that *Dudo* might have read a Part of the Authors that attest it. But he thought these Incidents would Embellish his History, so that he readily gave *Gisla* to *Rollo*; tho' the Age of one, and Youth of the other, made the Conjunction very Unsuitable. He had better, as *Paulus Emilius* says, have preserv'd this Princess for the Son of *Rollo*; and *Mezeray* had so much Honour as to forsake *Dudo* in this Article, tho' he commonly follows him with great Exactness.

This is his Plea, borrow'd from *du Haillan*, a Copier of *P. Emilius*; he is fond of it, and repeats it often; and he

he fortifies it by this Consideration, that *Rollo* having espous'd *Popa*, a Christian, could not quit her, to marry *Gisla*: and he demands a Law to prove, that a Pagan, who has espous'd a Christian Woman, is oblig'd to leave her, on his Conversion.

I answer, that *Dudo*, qualify'd as I have often represented above, is more Credible than *F. Lobineau* who brings no direct Proof against him. Who denies, that one *Gisla* was espous'd to *Jeffery*? But is this a Reason, that *Charles* had not a Daughter of that Name? Had not he a Sister so call'd, Daughter of King *Lewis the Stammerer*, and Queen *Ansgarde*, his first Consort? Was not there another, Daughter of *Lewis the Debonair*, marry'd to *Everard*, Duke of *Friuli*? And another, Wife of *Adelbert*, Marquis of *Turée*? It was a Name common to many Princesses of the Blood; and we cannot ascribe to one only all that happen'd to the rest. *Giselle*, or *Gisla*, Wife of *Jeffery*, was a Widow about the Year 885; and *Gisla*, Daughter of *Charles*, was marry'd an. 912. Besides, as it is well observ'd by *M. des Tuilleries*, when Two Gentlemen were dispatch'd by *Charles* to his Daughter, in the *Norman* Court, they were taken for  
Spies



Spies by *Rollo*, and massacred. From what Hand could *Dudo* steal a Fact so Important? Does he find the like in the Life of *Gisla*, the Spouse of *Jeffery*? *Dudo* tells us, that she died before the Nuptials were consummated. Was this true of *Gisla*, Daughter of *Lotharius*? But, says F. *Lobineau*, she was not above five Years old, and the Match was monstrous to an old beaten Warrior, that was near Eighty.

This will appear to be false, if we consult some Authors that are more knowing and sincere than F. *Lobineau* in the Genealogical History of our Kings. "F. *Labbé*, in his Genealogical Tables of "the Royal Family of *France*, gives "three Wives to *Charles the Simple*. "The first, a Wife, or Concubine, Mother of *Gisla*, marry'd, *an.* 912, to " *Rollo*; they that make her the Daughter of *Frederune*, must be oblig'd to "own that she was marry'd at four Years "old."

M. *du Fourni*, in his History, printed under the Name of F. *Anselm*, reports the same. But supposing her so Young, is she the first that was ever marry'd at that Age? Was not *Maud* of *England* espous'd to the Emperor *Henry V*, at the Age of five Years, and solemnly Crown'd?

Many

Many others have been marry'd in an Age of Minority, or promis'd, or espous'd, to be Educated in the Manner and Tongue of the People they were to govern. But if *Gisla* was Daughter of the first Wife, she must be at least fifteen, and *Rollo* was not above fifty five or sixty. And might not he flatter himself at that Age with having Children of a Princess, that brought him in Dowry so rich a Province as *Normandy*. *M. Labbé des Tuilleries* has solidly prov'd this Age of *Rollo*, in his Discourse upon the Fief of *Bretagne*. *F. Daniel*, the Jesuit, makes him little more, in his Modern History of *France*: but he tells us, his Health, Spirit, and Strength then were surprizing, and his Sight perfect. And in the Margin we find this Historical Note. " The Age of "  
*Rollo* is thus prov'd: He was aged  
 " thirty six Years, when he arriv'd in  
 " *France*; about the End of the Reign  
 " of *Charles the Bald*. He reign'd at  
 " least six Years in the North, and was  
 " some time in *Scandinavia*; so that if  
 " he commanded his Army, as is proba-  
 " ble, he must be, at his Marriage, no  
 " more, at the highest, than Sixty Two."  
 This Calculation depends in part upon the Time of his Arrival in *France*. *Dudo* places it at the Year 876; the Chronicle

cle of *Vezelai*, in the Library of MSS of F. *Labbe*, at 886. The Chronicle in *Duchefne's* Collection of the *Norman* Historians, at 895. That of *Tours*, in the same, at 881. All Historians, that mention the Treaty of *St. Clair*, speak of this Marriage; and of *Rollo's* \* quitting of his Concubine *Popa*, who was espous'd to him only after the *Danish* Manner, to marry *Gisla*.

But, says he, *Mezeray* talks otherwise. This is another Falshood of F. *Lobineau*. † *Mezeray* informs us, that *Rollo* espous'd the Daughter of *Charles*; that at her Marriage she was scarce Thirteen Years of Age; that after her Decease he took *Popa* again, Daughter of *Berenger*, Count of *Bayeux*, whom he repudiated, to enter into an Alliance with the King. And in his ‡ Abridgment; that *Rollo* paid Homage to the King for his Land; that his Daughter, whom he marry'd, soon after died without Children.

But, proceeds he, *Mezeray* will acquaint us, *Hist. tom. i. p. 314. Ed. 1643.* that *Gisla* was not then above Eight or

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\* Ce n'est pas vraie digamie, &c. Observ. sur la Digamie par M. Jacques Lefchassier. p. 167. Paris 1694.

† *Hist. gen. Tom. 1. Ed. 2. p. 629.* ‡ *Ed. Holland. tom. 1. p. 388.*



Nine Years old. True ; yet her Age is not the Question ; but her Marriage. This we find in two different Editions of *Mezeray*. He refers us to the first, which is very rarely to be met with. \* In this, he still follows the Account of *Dudo* : and mentions the Espousal of *Gisla* to *Rollo*.

He objects again, that the Description of *Gisla* in *Dudo* is Romantic, and not agreeable to that of *Mezeray*. I have allow'd, that *Dudo* is too much swell'd in his Characters ; and sets them off too highly with the Common-Places of Panegyric. As in the Praises bestow'd upon *Rollo* by the Ministers and Courtiers of *Charles* ; This *Dane*, say they, sprung of an Illustrious House, from a Train of Kings, very beautiful in Person, of an agreeable Figure, full of the fire of War, and great in Arms, prudent in his Counsels, eloquent, a good Friend, a fierce Enemy, just in his Decrees, impenetrable in his Designs, wealthy in his Treasures, and terrible in the Strength of his Forces, &c. I think, this may be retrench'd in part, without hurting the truth of History ; yet the Being and Conquests of *Rollo* are not the less real,

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\* Ed. de Guillemot. p. 314. line. 32.

because

because this Character is overstrain'd; nor the Cession of *Bretagne* to him. All Modern Historians are apt to be lavish on this Head, yet we do not look upon these Flights, as we do upon the Facts they report. The Praise of a Prince differs from a Battle, a Victory, or a Conquest. But then he elevates the good Qualities of *Gisla* also, which would not have been proper, had she been no more than Nine Years, at Marriage. However, our Question is about the Reality of this *Gisla*, and of the Marriage. F. *Lobineau* thinks it a Fable, and that *Mezeray* gives it up. Yet it appears in his History: so that he ought to be more faithful to his Authors, or not cite them at all.

After all, these and other Circumstances do not affect the Cession of *Bretagne*, so well attested, strengthen'd by a Possession of above Three Hundred Years: which is a Title not to be prescrib'd against, both to the Sovereigns and particular Persons. In vain does F. *Lobineau* endeavour to throw us off the Question, by Misquotation, Sophistry, and false Reasoning; we still trace him on, and unravel his Windings. Tho' he advances with a perfect Confidence in his Capacity, and Contempt of others, such

such as we do not find in the truly Learned: and never is more ostentatious, than when he is sensible, he is the most incapable. Let us now go to another Proof, afforded by the Donation of *Radulphus*, King of *France*, to *William Long-sword*, Son of *Rollo*.

*William*, Prince of the *Normans*, says *Flodoard*, did Homage to *Radulphus*, who gave him the Maritime Country of *Bretagne*.

This Homage, and Grant, says *F. Lobineau*, are a Proof, that *Charles* did not make this Donation to the *Normans*. To this we reply, that in the first, and the greatest Part of the second Race of our Kings, Dutchies and Counties were revocable Governments and Offices, by the Will of the Sovereign, \* and that what we now call a Benefice, was like Demesne Lands, given by a Prince only for Life. Hence *Rollo* demanded his Grant for his Posterity, as well as himself. Towards the decline of the Second, and the beginning of the third Race, they became Hereditary Titles. These Benefices still are call'd Fiefs, but the

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\* Beneficium nihil aliud est, &c. Obert. de Orto. l. 3. tit. 1. ap. Cujac. Beneficium est rei Immobilis, &c. Bald. in proem.



Children could not possess them after the Death of their Father, but by a New Grace and Investiture of the Prince.

Hence those Ordinary Terms in the Historians, *The King giveth*: since each new Investiture was thought a Donation. This explains the Donation of *Radulphus* to *William Long-sword*, Son of *Rollo*, of *Bretagne*: as no less Necessary, than the first was to his Father. King *Lewis*, says *Flodoard*, went to meet *William*, Prince of the *Normans*, who paid Homage to him at *Amiens*. The King gave him the Land which his Father gave to the *Normans*.

Here are two Donations; if the first was Real, the second was Unnecessary and Ridiculous, according to our Historian. But he should consider that the Investiture was always a Donation on the Part of the Sovereign, who were the only true Proprietors, and thought fit to alienate the Possession only in Favour of some Families.

So that the Donation to *William Long-sword* is no Consequence against that to *Rollo*: It is always a fresh Donation to every Successor in the Fief: and ever call'd by that Name. Thus we are told by *Oderic Vitalis* that *Lewis the Gross*, who liv'd 124 Years after the Donation

nation to *William Long-sword*, gave the Investiture of the Seignury of *Bretagne* to *Henry I*, King of *England* and Duke of *Normandy*; for which Homage had been paid him before by *Fergent*, Prince of the *Bretons*. Had this been the first Donation, no Homage could have been paid before for it: and this was distant above 200 Years from the Cession to *Rollo*. But all Benefices and Fiefs are Donations, extending only to the Life of the Vassal; the Hereditary Property lying in the Sovereign. Hence the Original Authors use the Terms, *donavit*, or *concessit*, in all Feoffments; as being real Donations.

But, says *F. Lobineau*, the Sense of these two Words is not to be confounded: The first indeed is a Donation, but the latter is a Confirmation of it: and he tells me, I do not enough attend to the Style of Records and Charters of the Twelfth and the following Ages: And yet he does not prove his own Allegations by Antient Titles or Charters. However, let his Prejudice be what it will against our Knowledge of Antient History, we will prove by a Number of Records that, *I have given and granted*, are synonymous, and us'd indifferently for one another.

An. 1091, *Philip the August*, in a Charter, giving the Abby of *St. Mellon* in Fief to *William*, Archbishop of *Reuen*, and his Successors, uses both those Terms; and sets the Word, *Concedo*, before *Dono*; which is a proof, that it does not mean a Confirmation of a Gift, but a Donation it self.

\* Another parallel Instance we have in the Donation of the two Daughters of *Gerard le Poire*, by *Theobald*, Count of *Bar* and *Luxembourg*, to *Blanche*, Countess of *Champagne*, by way of Exchange for two others; according to the Custom of that Time, when Servants and their Children were the Property of their Lord. Here, the Count says, *dedi*, I have given; the Countess, *concessit & dedit*, hath granted and given. According to *F. Lobineau*, this would be meant, *both confirm'd and given*, which would be ridiculous.

In the Marriage Contract between *John*, Son of *Henry* King of *England*, and *Alice*, Daughter of *Humbert* Count of *Morienne*, the Word *concedit* is us'd, to imply the Gift of his County and Lands to *John* with his Daughter, provided himself had no Male-Child to

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\* Ego Theobaldus, &c. ad ann. 1206.



Inherit them : \* And *donat* is added, in the same Sense: A Proof, that the former does not intend a Confirmation. But without recurring to Foreign Examples, we will consult the Collection in the second Tome of the History of *Bretagne*, by the Religious we have mention'd in the Preface to this Book; against which F. *Lobineau* can have no Exception.

In an Exchange between a Priest of *Bretagne* and a Lord of that Country, it is related, *ut concederet equum, dedit Rantonnam* : He gave him a Tract of Land call'd *Ranton*, for the Present of his Horse. The Confirmation of his Horse (in the Sense of F. *Lobineau*) would be forc'd and extravagant. †

One *Benedict*, a Bishop, having by ill Counsils misapply'd the Charity, that his Father *Oscand*, who was also a Bishop, had given to the Poor, and resum'd the Land of *Callastrüe*, granted to them, gave after the same Land to one of his Relations, that was on the Point of Marriage: The Word, *concessit terram*, is us'd in the Body of the In-

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\* Ryner. Convent. & Litter. t. 4. p. 33. † Venit quidam, &c. t. 2. des pr. p. 66.

strument, and *donavit* towards the End: This shews the Sense of it is the same, and not a Confirmation of a Gift. \*

This Collection, *p.* 118. offers us another Donation made by a Bishop of *Tre-guier* to the Abbey of Mount St. *Michael*; under the Term of *Concedo*; adding twice after, the Word, *Donation*, which again proves the Sense of it. And more occur in many other Pages.

*F. Lobineau* has a mean Opinion of our narrow Erudition. But the Cartulary of *Philip the August*, that is look'd upon to be the most Antient of our Charters, and Copies of which are in many Libraries, suggests to us a Variety of Instances of the same kind.

Here all Primitive Donations are express'd by the Word *Concedimus*; that of *Robert de Belloes*, dated *an.* 1216; that of *Simon de Corbeil*, dated *an.* 1217, &c. in a Word, all the Donations of *Philip II*, and his Principal Lords, have the Words *damus* & *concedimus*, or, *concedimus* & *damus*, as synonymous. The Proofs of the House of *Chatillon*, collected by *Andrewe de Chesne*, are full of them. *Theobald*, Count Palatine of

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\* *Pr. du. 3. lur. p.* 103,

*Champagne* and *Brie*, expresses himself thus; *dedi, concessi etiam terram, &c.* So that in that Age, they were Convertible Terms; and for the Ratification of a Grant, the Word *Confirmamus* it self is us'd very often, in our Cartularies. A Croud of other Examples might be alledg'd, but these are sufficient to shew that a subsequent Donation of *Bretagne* to *William Long-sword* is no Argument against the Original Cession of it by *Charles the Simple*. *Flodoard* employs the Word *concesserat* (granted) in the first Case; which, if explain'd of a Confirmation, would have been inconsistent.

So that his own Ostentation of Antiquity, and Contempt of others, is vain: when he is press'd hardest, and is at the lowest Ebb for a Reply, he is always the most decisive.

After all, when a Man attacks another, or defends himself, he may take that Turn of Style, at his own Hazard, that appears most advantageous. This is the Business of an Author: I do not dwell on the Minute Points of *Grammar*: As when he translates that Passage of *Reginon*, *Normanni finibus Britannia classem trajiciunt*; thus, 'The Normans  
 ' drew on their Navy to the Confines of  
 Q 4 ' *Bretagne.*'



‘*Betargne.*’ I render’d them thus, ‘The  
 ‘*Norman* Fleet cruiz’d along the Coasts  
 ‘of *Bretagne.*’ Let the Reader judge,  
 which is the most faithful.

Let us see, whether he be a better  
 Critic, than a Translator: I affirm’d,  
 in the *Treatise of the Fief*, that *Rollo*  
 came with a Numerous Fleet from the  
 North. *F. Lobineau* pretends, that he  
 had no more than six Vessels: and that  
*Dudo* calls it not a Numerous Fleet; but  
 only that it was well stor’d with Provi-  
 sions, and made a Descent, with Sails  
 and Oars, on the Coast of *England*.

His Error arises from his Confidence  
 in the Extracts of History, given him  
 by his Brethren. But since by his Cita-  
 tion of *Dudo*, he seems to be reconcil’d  
 to him, he should read that Author.  
 There he might see that *Rollo* made  
 two distinct Embarkations. The first in  
*Denmark*, after the loss of a Battle with  
 the King of that Country, that oblig’d  
 him to retire with six Vessels into  
*Sweden* or *Norway*. Here he stay’d  
 some time; was speedily joyn’d by a  
 larger Body of Ships and Men, and  
 embark’d for *England*: The *English*  
 brought a great Army against him, but  
 were overcome; and in a second En-  
 gagement, met with the same ill Success,  
 and

and their Principal Commanders were made Prisoners of War.

So that in this second Embarkation he must have a Numerous Fleet, tho' in the first he had only six Vessels. These Vessels of the Northern Pirates were not large and lofty: but were only a Composition of Hurdles, cover'd with Hides sow'd together, more proper for Narrow Rivers, than the Sea. These were their Ships for above four Ages; and with these they confronted Storms and Death. But six Vessels of this Size and Make, were not sufficient for a Descent; unless F. *Lobineau*, like *Jeffery* of *Monmouth*, will make the Soldiers of *Rollo* to be Hero's and Knights Errant; that could singly kill a Troop of Giants, and beat an Army.

F. *Daniel*, the Jesuit, in his History of *France*, has enter'd better into the Sense of the Original Author.

“ *Rollo*, says he, in his Retreat to  
“ *Sweden*, or *Norway*, was joyn'd by a  
“ Number of his Subjects, and delibe-  
“ rated, whether he should return to  
“ *Denmark*, or, after the Example of  
“ his Countrymen, establish himself in  
“ another Country. A favourable Pre-  
“ sage of good Fortune determin'd him  
“ to the latter.

“ He

“ He was not only belov’d and ho-  
 “ nour’d by those of his Subjects that  
 “ follow’d his Fate, but by the Inha-  
 “ bitants of the Place where he refug’d.  
 “ A majestic Air and Port, an heroic Fi-  
 “ gure, a deal of Spirit, Sweetness, and  
 “ Honour, his Accounts of his Misfor-  
 “ tune, and the Exploits he atchiev’d in  
 “ *Denmark*, drew him the Love and  
 “ Esteem of the whole Country. He en-  
 “ gag’d with Ease these Northern People  
 “ in the most sudden Expeditions. The  
 “ Renown of his Wisdom, and Idea of  
 “ his Valour, brought him Men to offer  
 “ their Service from all Quarters. The Ves-  
 “ sels cost nothing; and the sole Hope of  
 “ Booty was the Foundation of his Pay  
 “ to his Soldiers. So that in a short  
 “ Time, he found himself at the Head  
 “ of a great Army, and a numerous  
 “ Fleet.”

So that I am not single in this Ex-  
 pression; it is us’d, you read, by F. *Dani-  
 el*, as well as *Dudo*. In his first Expe-  
 dition in the North, he escap’d with  
 six Vessels; in the Second, he went with  
 a large Armament: fought two Battles  
 with the *English*, put to Sea again, ar-  
 riv’d in *Friezeland*, and challeng’d Duke  
*Radebrode*, and *Rainier*, Prince of *Hai-  
 nault* and *Hasbaye*; after this, made two  
 Descents



Descents in *France*; in the last, divided his Fleet into three Squadrons, and enter'd the Realm by the *Seine*, the *Loire*, and the *Garonne* at the same Time. Let the Reader determine, whether all this could be done with six Vessels.

After all: whether *Rollo* had a greater or a lesser Number of Vessels; whether he was baptiz'd by *Wito*, or by *Franco*; whether his Descendents reign'd from the Year 912, or 1028: all this is indifferent; as we have said on the Marriage of *Poppa* with *Rollo*. It is only the Interest of Truth, that has made me, in the *Treatise of the Fief*, undertake the Defence of the Sovereignty of our Kings, unjustly attack'd by F. *Lobineau*: a Truth of public Notoriety in all our antient Chronicles; which, without the Testimony of original and contemporary Historians, is supported by a Possession of above Three Hundred Years: a Title superior to all we can draw from the best furnish'd Repositories of Charters. But indeed these different Questions become of no Use by the Re-union of these two great Provinces with the Crown; both the reigning, and the subordinate Fief: which are equally re-joyn'd, under the Sovereignty of the State, to the antient *Domaine* of our first Kings.

So

So that the main Design of this last Work is not so much the Dependence of the *Bretons* upon the *Norman* Princes, as the Vindication of the Sovereignty of *France*; violated by the rash Pretensions of *Dargentré*, and the greatest Part of the Historians of the same Nation. And I own, I believe, there is no good *Frenchman*, nor Stranger that is equitable, and knowing in our History, that can read without Surprise, and perhaps without Indignation, the following Propositions, that occur in the modern History of *Bretagne*, or the Answer to the *Treatise of the Fief* of the same Province.

1. That the *Bretons* were not establish'd in *Armorica* by the Permission of our Kings.

2. That King *Childebert* did not gain a Sovereignty over one Part of this Nation, any other Way, than by the voluntary Submission of an Usurper.

3. That *Bretagne* was not subdu'd by the *French* before the Reign of *Charlemagne*.

4. That if *Bretagne* was an antient Fief of the Crown; it was a Fief, that was not separated from the Crown, like others: and that, by Consequence, our Kings could not re-unite it at the Rebellion

lion and Felony of a Vassal; because, as those Authors that have written upon Fiefs, inform us, Confiscation for Treason is an Act of sovereign Authority, by which there is a Return of Things to their original State: whence it follows, that if Fiefs possess'd by Traytors did not descend from the Prince, they could not return to him by Confiscation.



THE





THE  
APPROBATION

*Of M. Richard, Dean of the Canons of the Royal and Collegiate Church of St. Opportune, at Paris ; Prior and Lord of Regny, and de l' Hospital, near Rochefort, Royal Censor of Books.*

**I** Have read by Order of M. the Keeper of the Seals, 1. The History of the Revolutions that have happen'd in the Government of the *Roman Republic*. 2. The History of the Origin and Establishment of the *Bretons* among the *Gauls*. 3. The History of the Union and Difunion of *Portugal* with *Castille*. 4. The History of the Revolution in *Sweden*. 5. Dissertations upon the History of *France* ; by M. the Abbot of *Vertot*, of the royal Academy of Inscriptions

tions, and *Belles Lettres*. The very Name of so approv'd an Historian, as the Author of these Works is allow'd to be, must engage the Reader to make them his particular Study. We find an equal Mixture of the Useful, and the Agreeable, in the whole: Beauty of Narration, Purity of Language, Clearness of Expression, Truth of Fact, and Solidity of Proof to establish it. We admire, in the judicious Additions he has made, those politic Reflections that heighten the Value of the new Impression of these Books, already receiv'd with so much Applause in *France* and Foreign Parts, where this new Edition is expected with Impatience. Done at *Paris*, this Second of *May*, 1720.

Abbot RICHARD.



The



*The KING's Privilege.*

**L**EWIS, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarre*, to our beloved and faithful Counsellors, our Courts of Parliament, Masters of the ordinary Requests of our Palace, our grand Council, Provost of *Paris*, Bailiffs, Seneschals, their civil Lieutenants, and other our Justices, to whom it shall appertain, Greeting. Our well-beloved, the Sieur Abbot *de Vertot*, Priest, Doctor of the Canon Law, and of our Royal Academy of Inscriptions, and the *Belles Lettres*, having represented to us, that he is desirous to continue the Printing of many Works of his Composition, entitled, *The History of the Revolutions in the Government of the Roman Republic; and in Sweden; and of Establishment of the Bretons among the Gauls, and their Dependence upon the Kings of France; and of the Union and Disunion of Portugal with Castille*; but as it will occasion a very great Expence, he



he has pray'd the Continuation of our Privilege, necessary for it. For these Causes, in our Good-will to the said Abbot *de Vertot*, and to enable him to execute these Works so advantageous to the Public ; We permit him to reprint the Works aforesaid, in such Volumes, Form, Margin, and Character ; and joyntly or separately, and as often as to him shall seem good, and to cause them to be sold in all our Realm, during the Time of fifteen Years, from the Date of these Presents. We forbid all Persons, of what Quality or Condition soever they may be, to counterfeit the Books above specify'd, in Whole, or in Part ; or to make any Extracts out of them, under any Pretence whatever, by Augmentation, Correction, Change of Title, or otherwise, without the expresse Permission of the Abbot aforesaid, or those that are authoriz'd by him : on Pain of Confiscation of the counterfeit Copies, and a Fine of six thousand Livres on each of the Delinquents, of which a Third shall come to us, a Third to the *Hôtel-Dieu* of *Paris*, and the other Third to the Author above-mention'd, and of all Expences, Damages, and Charges : Commanding, that these Presents be recorded

forthwith in the Register of the Company of Bookfellers and Printers of *Paris*, in three Months from the date of them; that the Impression be made in our Kingdom, and not otherwise, in good Paper and Letter, conformably to the Regulations of the Company of Stationers; and that before they be expos'd to Sale, the Manuscript or printed Sheets, that serve for the Copy of the Impression, be put, in the same condition in which the Approbation was given to them, into the Hands of our Right Trusty and Beloved Keeper of the Seals of *France*, the Marquis of *Argenson*; and that he shall send two Copies of each into our Public Library, one into that of our Castle of the *Louvre*, and one into that of the Keeper of the Seals; on pain of the Nullity of these Presents: by virtue of which, we enjoyn you to allow him the Peaceable Possession of them, without Let or Hindrance. We will, that the Copy of these Presents to be printed in this Book, shall be held to be duly signify'd, and that the Copies compar'd by one of our Secretaries shall be receiv'd, as from the Original. We command our Principal Usher or Sergeant to make all necessary Acts for their Execution, without

out demanding any other Permission, notwithstanding any Hue and Cry, *Norman* Charter, or Letters contrary to these. For such is our Pleasure. Given at *Paris*, an. 1720, and of our Reign the Fifth. By the King in his Council.

NOBLET.

F I N I S.

